1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

KINSHIP TERMS AND PRINCIPLES OF NOMENCLATURE

From all accounts it appears most likely that the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage practices. Among these, the greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage, whereby a man is expected to marry his mother's brother's daughter. A bride goes to live with her husband in his natal household. Informants were unanimously agreed that cross-cousin mating was almost universal until approximately a generation ago. Such marriages are not at all unusual nowadays, but they are no longer as prevalent as formerly. Another important aspect is polygyny, which was once the accepted rule, but has now become the exception. This means that levirate, sororate, sororal polygyny, and wife inheritance have been almost completely given up. Nevertheless, these usages are known to have been widespread and are still reflected in the terminology.

If the kinship system is examined from the viewpoint of an adult male (Fig. 2), one finds that he calls his potential mate, the daughter of his mother's brother, *ñuke*. The same term is used to designate mother, and a derivative, *ñukentu*, is applied to mother's sister. In accordance with traditional marriage practices, a grown man might well have been wedded to all three of these persons. This would come about if *ego's* father, through the operation of the sororate or sororal polygyny, had married *ego's* mother and her sister and at death had transmitted them both to *ego* by filial inheritance. Under such circumstances it frequently was the case that a man found himself married to a cross-cousin, a mother,[2] and a mother's sister, all of whom were

[2] Little is known of Araucanian incest regulations. Latcham (1909, p. 360) and Cooper (1946, p. 719) agreed that under filial inheritance a man inherited his father's wives, except for his own mother. Yet both writers (Latcham, *op. cit.*, p. 356, and Cooper, *loc. cit.*) reported that incest of all degrees frequently occurred during drinking bouts.

Latcham (1924, p. 527) argued that the Mapuche once limited descent ties so closely to the matrilineal line that no incest tabus applied to relations between half-brothers and sisters, step-parents and step-children, and fathers and daughters.

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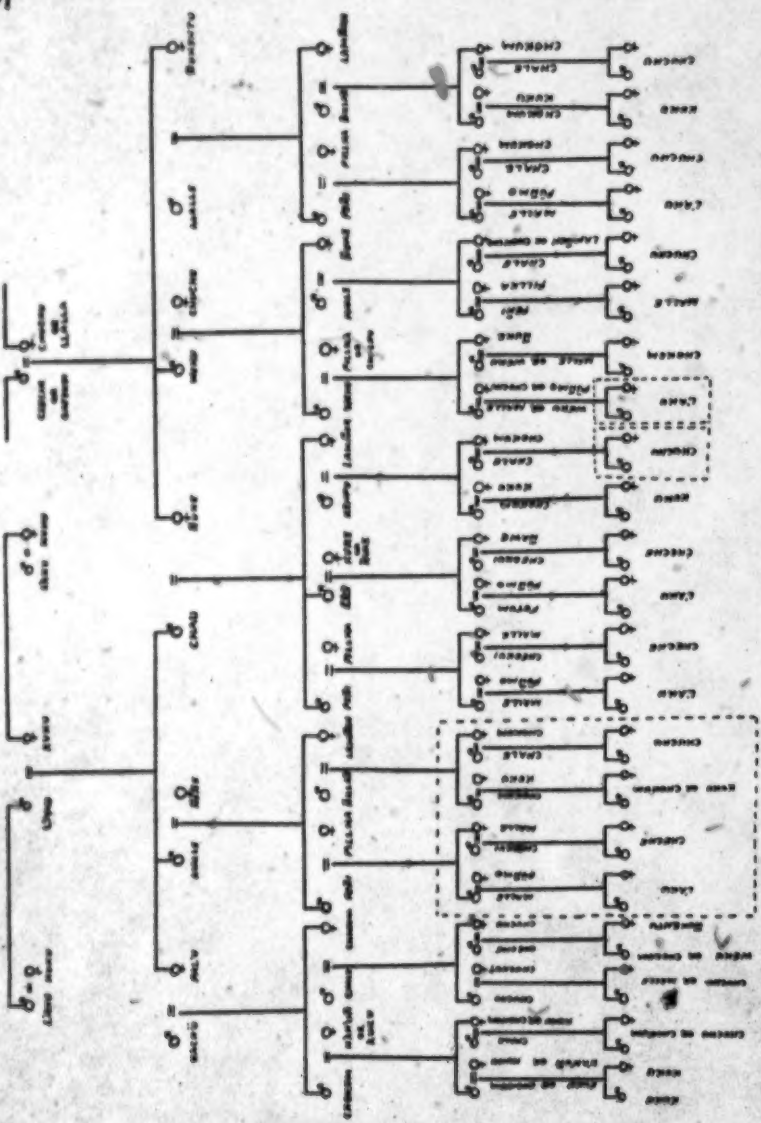

FIG. 2. The Araucanian kinship system, male speaking. For the terms inclosed by broken lines, which should be regarded as tentative, informants failed to reach close agreement.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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601 587 *ñuke* to him. A similar tendency to use the same term for wife and mother appears in the generation above that of *ego*, since maternal uncle's wife and mother are both called *chuchu*.

Levirate and sororate were voluntarily invoked by some informants to explain other aspects of terminology. Thus, it was pointed out that *malle* conveyed the meaning of potential stepfather. Through the levirate, father's brother (*malle*) would become *ego's* father; and through the sororate, the husband of *ego's* mother's sister (*malle*) might likewise become *ego's* father. It follows logically that the offspring of these men, *ego's* parallel cousins, should be regarded as siblings.

In a society where the filial inheritance of wives is a common practice, it is not unexpected to find that the nomenclature occasionally disregards generation lines. The Araucanian system has an additional feature of this kind, since certain relatives in alternate generations employ reciprocal terms for each other. In the case of men (Fig. 2), father's father and son's son are *l-aku*. When *ego* is female (Fig. 3), father's mother and son's daughter are known as *kuku*, mother's mother and daughter's daughter are *chuchu* or *llalla*, and father's sister and brother's daughter are *pal-u*.

601 Another noteworthy aspect of Araucanian kinship terminology is that a number of terms convey sex distinctions at one generation level but do not serve that purpose at another. For example, *l-aku* (Fig. 2) means father's father, and *kuku* refers to father's mother; but when a man applies these terms to the grandchildren's generation there is no distinction of sex. *L-aku* refers to *ego's* brother's son's son or daughter, and *kuku* designates either *ego's* sister's son's son or daughter.

Still another noteworthy feature is the use of specific terms for certain relatives within a general category that is designated by a classificatory term. For instance, a man calls a male relative-in-law in his own generation *ñillan*, but he uses *kenpu* when referring to his own sister's husband.[3]

[3] Other examples, which are not shown because they were reported by only a single informant (J. M. Collío), are: *des* applied by a man to his own sister, whereas *lamñen* is the classificatory term for sister or female parallel

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Kinship terms are widely employed for direct address in ordinary social intercourse. Whenever a specific relationship exists between speakers, teknonymy is utilized. If there is no close relationship, terms of address[4] are used as listed in Table I.

Araucanian kinship terminology recognizes only five generations, two above and two below *ego*. If it is found necessary to extend terms to higher or lower generations, the Mapuche do not use new words, but employ numerical prefixes as needed.

TABLE I

TERMS OF DIRECT ADDRESS

Male Speaker	Person Addressed	Female Speaker
fűchachau	Very old man	*chachai*
kusepapai	Very old woman	*ñaña*
chau or *chachai*	Older man than *ego*	*chau*
papai[5]	Older woman than *ego*	*papai*
peñi	Man of *ego's* age	*lamŭen*
lamŭen	Woman of *ego's* age	*lamŭen*
fotum or *fochum*	Younger man	*wüche*
lamŭen	Younger woman	*pailiao*
fochumtu	Very young man	*chachaiñu*
lamŭentu	Very young woman	*ñañaitu*

For instance, a man calls his paternal grandfather *laku*. Hence, great-grandfather is *epuchi* ("twice") *laku*, great-

cousin; *chaŭlui*, used by a male to indicate his actual father-in-law, whereas *wütu* applies to any one of his mother's brothers or potential fathers-in-law; and *ñañi*, a term of affection used by a woman toward a favored father's sister's son, whereas other cross-cousins of this kind are generally called either *chau* ("father") or *fotum* ("son").

[4] Terms of direct address are almost invariably preceded by the Mapuche greeting, "*Mari, mari*," which means "ten, ten," and has the connotation of a hundred greetings or welcomes.

There are so many alternate usages possible for terms of direct address that the data given in Table I require confirmation and further study.

[5] *Papai* is the most common respectful term of direct address used by either sex when speaking to an adult woman.

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great-grandfather is *kŭlachi* ("thrice") *laku* and so on. To take another example, a man's daughter's son is *cheche*, great-grandson is *epuchi cheche*, great-great-grandson is *kŭlachi cheche*, and so on.[6]

Mapuche informants are most consistent and self-assured when dealing with direct patrilineal lineage connections. They are somewhat less sure of the correct terminology on the matrilineal side, particularly in the matter of collateral relationships. They are least certain when asked to give terms for collateral relatives in the two generations below *ego*. Yet, in spite of some confusion in recalling relationship designations when interviewed, people like to keep track of all their kin, and they are said to repeat family histories frequently at public gatherings or in private conversation. Whenever the great *ñillatun* ceremony is held, an occasion is provided for renewing acquaintance with one's remoter kindred. During a pause that always precedes the serving of the midday lunch all the visiting men, many of whom come from distant reductions, range themselves in a line. Thereupon, the male residents of the home reservation go down the line shaking hands and exchanging kin terms with each guest. Specific terms are used whenever the relationship of two men is clearly known, but in other cases resort is made to the general terms of direct address that are listed in Table I. Shaking hands and exchanging terms of kinship are not perfunctory. Two men will often engage in a bit of preliminary discussion before they decide on the correct terms to use. On one occasion, when I was invited to stand in the guest line, I was unhesitatingly addressed as *peñi* ("brother") by each adult host, and as *chau* ("father") by youngsters.

KINSHIP BEHAVIOR

With respect to the reciprocal behavior of kindred, as in the case of relationship terminology, the central features pertain to marriage customs. Once again, the main factor is the pattern of conduct that exists between a man and his potential mate,

[6] Cf. Latcham, 1909, p. 357.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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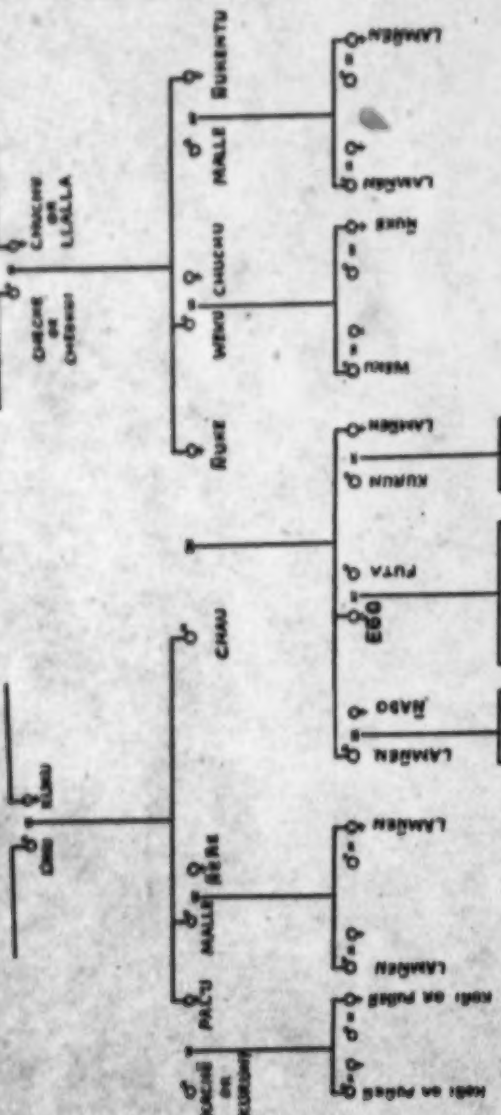

FIG. 3. The Araucanian kinship system, female speaking.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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than a declaration of friendship between two men, each of whom in turn provided a beast every other year.[18]

THE OMAHA SYSTEM: AN EVOLUTIONARY HYPOTHESIS

At the beginning of this chapter attention was drawn to the need for a dynamic approach to the study of Mapuche kinship. The necessity for an evolutionary analysis, which attempts to trace changes of form through the course of time, is nowhere more strikingly evident than when one tries to determine the presence or absence of Omaha nomenclature and patrilineal clans.

Ever since Hallowell tentatively identified Araucanian kinship terminology as Omaha,[19] many anthropologists have wanted to know whether his postulate is correct.[20] Anyone who studies the terms published by him and compares them with Figure 2 will soon find that Mapuche nomenclature is unquestionably Omaha. The following traits, male speaking, which are regarded as typical or diagnostic,[21] occur: parallel cousins are classed with siblings, father's sister's children are equated with sister's children, mother's brother's son is termed mother's brother or "uncle," and mother's brother's daughter is called mother.

As far as these essential features go, the Araucanians conform to Omaha usage. Much uncertainty has arisen, however, in regard to another trait which is commonly but not invariably associated with the Omaha system. The trait in dispute is marriage of a man with his wife's brother's daughter. Hallowell cited J. M. Collío to the effect that such marriages occur among the Araucanians, yet Hallowell stated that he failed to find confirmation of this fact in the literature;[22] and Cooper also noted

[18] Augusta, 1916, I: 93; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 389–91; and Hoeme, 1939, pp. 207–8.

[19] Hallowell, 1943.

[20] Hallowell's suggestion will be found to have been accepted by Cooper 1946, p. 724; and Murdock, 1949, p. 240.

[21] Lowie, 1929.

[22] Hallowell, 1943, p. 490.

1: Tittiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

that wife's brother's daughter marriage is nowhere else reported.[8] It so happens that I was privileged to work many long hours with J. M. Coñuo in Santiago, in 1948. Again and again, without revealing my purpose, I questioned him on this point, and invariably Coñuo denied the existence of the custom. In retrospect it seems to me that a single error of translation may be to blame for all the confusion. The Mapuche word *ñuke* means either wife or mother, and I venture the explanation that Coñuo sometimes spoke of marriage with wife's brother's daughter when he meant to say mother's brother's daughter, the traditional form of Araucanian cross-cousin marriage.

Even if the practice of marrying wife's brother's daughter is not recognized, however, enough parallels remain to justify the identification of the nomenclature as Omaha. Another interesting problem then arises, for it is widely held that Omaha terminology goes with fully developed patrilineal clans, but Mapuche society is not grouped into clans. For a consideration of this problem resort must be had to hypothesis, in the form of "historical" or "evolutionary" reconstruction.

A host of writers beginning with Lewis H. Morgan have argued that the various parts of a kinship system, such as terminology or marriage customs, do not necessarily originate, evolve, or change at one and the same time or rate of speed within a given social structure. Consequently, in some cases, "a recently acquired custom may not yet have developed an appropriate nomenclature, while [in other cases] . . . the nomenclature may survive after the custom has become obsolete."[9] The best understanding of the Araucanian situation can be gained when it is viewed in the light of a concept of nonsynchronous evolution.

An attempt will now be made to formulate a hypothesis with respect to the evolutionary development of the Mapuche kinship system. If one accepts the findings of Latcham, who

[8] Cooper, 1946, p. 719.
[9] Lowie, 1929, p. 173.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

ASSEMBLY SONGS

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Man's Reply

Ñuke anai ñuke
Kuchi miñen kimai
mute dungolmi
Ñillatu pinke ngnen fun
pinkeye niye eli
fele kayu miñen
tayu poyen kiñen
tachiu mew ta
dungu kilpe che
tachiu miñen kiñen.

Free translation.—Wife, dear wife,[a] it would be better if you went more slowly and did not talk so much, or else there may be someone else asking for my favor [literally, pinke, "heart"]. If you feel the same love for me that I do for you, just be quiet. Don't set people to talking about us; this is our own affair.

Woman's Counterreply

kuñi anai kuñi
miñen kiñen kiñiki
kami feipi fiel
ruñ kiñen lan tatei.

Free translation.—Husband, dear husband,[b] what you have said shows that you just jumped at conclusions. I wasn't speaking seriously.

Interpretation.—It seems evident from the readings of the free translations in this group of three songs that a young wife sought to take advantage of Mapuche custom to draw attention to her husband's faults. When he called her to task in his reply, she tried to pass the matter off as a kind of joke.

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[a] Traditionally, and to some extent at present, a Mapuche man was expected to marry the daughter of his mother's brother. The term for this cross-cousin is ñuke and may be used either in the literal sense of "wife" or else somewhat loosely to connote "sweetheart."

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[b] A woman calls her husband kuñi, the term for father's sister's son, because in former times she was expected to marry such a cross-cousin. Compare footnote 18.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

683 In the case of death by sorcery, the guilty were condemned to die by fire in the manner already described.

681 Murder, maiming, adultery, robbery, or any minor crime were punished by a fine, to be paid by the offender or his relatives. In the case of murder, if the prisoner were poor and unable to pay, he was generally condemned to death, and immediately on sentence being given was led out and despatched with a stone club. It frequently happened, however, that the condemned and his relations offered resistance to the decisions of the council. This almost invariably happened if he belonged to another clan or tribe. The result was a *malon* or sudden attack, and was the source of continual intertribal warfare.

The law of retaliation was the only one understood, although the keen commercial spirit of the Araucano led him to forego personal vengeance for its accruing profit. Thus every injury had its price, which varied with the importance of the offended. The price of a death, and in this case accidental death, or homicide in self-defence, ranked with murder, was that of ten *llaneas*, strings of green and black stones, generally silicates of copper. This payment was called *llancatun*. Traitors and kidnappers were also punished with death.

685 Robbery committed in the same clan or tribe was compounded by a payment in kind, but with considerable increase according to the social position of the offender. If caught in the act he was publicly whipped, sometimes to death.

684 Adultery was not considered as an outrage to the honour of the husband, but a damage to the feminine property of the offended, and was punished by him at will, either by the death of the wife, or her sale, but most frequently by a heavy compensation by the co-respondent, except in the case of the culpable parties being caught *flagrante delictu* when the husband was within his right in slaying them both.

682 Parricide, infanticide, wife-murder, intentional abortion, and similar acts committed within the first rank of blood relations were not considered as crimes, it being held that these relations were of the same blood, and that it was allowable for anyone to shed his own blood.

684 Immorality and indecency, even the most depraved, were not considered as faults, the men and single girls enjoying unquestioned right to dispose of themselves and their bodies as they thought fit, and during their feasts the utmost licence prevailed, absolutely no bonds of relationship being recognised in their drunken amours, even incest being of the most frequent occurrence.

648 At present the jurisdiction of the tribes is nominally under the charge of the Chilian judicial authorities; but only in extreme cases are these courts appealed to, the Indians still retaining their old customs in the majority of districts, although there is an increasing tendency to recur to these tribunals in all civil cases.

601 621 *Relationship.*—Among the Araucanos, relationship was recognised to the fourth generation. This, and the fact of polygamy being an institution among them, accounts for the fact of the family groups, clans, and tribes, being at times very powerful, a chief's importance, socially and politically, depending directly on the

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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number of male relations he could muster and on the number of unmarried daughters (basis of future alliances and riches) that he possessed.

Three ranks of relationship were recognised:—

(1) Those of direct ascent or descent: consanguinity.

(2) Collateral ascent or descent:

(3) Relations by courtesy: Marriage relations.

The first class were as follows:

Father, *chau.*

Father's father, *lacu.*

Father's grandfather, *epuchi lacu* = twice grandfather.

Father's great grandfather, *culachi lacu* = three times grandfather.

Father's mother, *cucu.*

Father's grandmother, *epuchi cucu.*

Father's great grandmother, *culachi cucu.*

Mother, *niuke* or *papai* (*pa-pie*).

Mother's father, *chedchi.*

Mother's grandfather, *epuchi chedchi.*

Mother's great grandfather, *culachi chedchi.*

Mother's mother, *llalla* (*lya-lya*) in the northern provinces and *chuchu* in southern.

Mother's grandmother, *epuchi llalla.*

Mother's great grandmother, *culachi llalla.*

Son, *votem.*

Son's son, *lacu*, same as grandfather by father's side; really means blood relative (male) once removed.

Son's grandson (always direct male line), *epuchi lacu.*

Son's great-grandson, *culachi lacu.*

Daughter, *niahue.*

Daughter's son, *chedchi.*

Daughter's grandson, *epuchi chedchi.*

Daughter's great grandson, *culachi chedchi.*

The daughter's progeny and their descendants are called by the same names as the mother's ascendants; *cucu, epuchi cucu, culachi cucu, llalla*, etc.

The collateral relatives were named as follows:—

Brother, *peuyi.*

Brother's son, *malyi.*

Brother's grandson, *lacu.*

Brother's daughter, *malyi niahue.*

Brother's granddaughter, *chedchi.*

Sister, *lamgen.*

Sister's son, *choquem.*

Sister's grandson, *chale choquem.*

Sister's daughter, *malen choquem.*

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 Sister's grand-daughter, *chale choquem.*
Father's brother, *malyi.*
First cousins male in general, *udam penyi.*
" " female, *udam lamuen.*
Second cousins, *epuchi udam penyi*, or *epuchi udam lamuen.*
Father's sister, *palu.*
Mother's brother, *huecu.*
Mother's sister, *ninkentu.*

Marriage relations.

Wife's father, *puinyimo.*
" mother, *nanen.*
" brother, *vilyica.*
" sister, *nyadu.*

The collateral relations took the same names :—

Husband's father, *Kempu.*
" mother, *Llalla.*
" brother, *ngilyanyi.*
" sister, *kerun.*

The other relations by matrimony took the names of the corresponding blood relations :—

Stepfather, *pelcuchao.*
Stepmother, *nyenye.*
Stepson, *malyi notem.*
Stepdaughter, *malyi miahue.*
Wife, *cure.*
Husband, *vuta* (*grande*).
Consort (of either sex), *pinyom.*
Mistress, *unyam.*
Children in general, *conyi.*
Natural children, *vuchen.*

854 [165] 847 845 In general the Araucano women have limited families, and, owing to the little care their offspring receive, the infant mortality is very great. As soon as they can run about the children are left to their own resources almost absolutely, and from a very early age take an active part in the licence and debauches of their parents. Owing to the continual warfare and the desire to bring up robust and warlike descendants, all misformed or delicate children were slain at birth. Twin children were considered unlucky, and either one was brought up in the family of some near relative as their child, or it was killed at once. A child born feet foremost was also considered unlucky.

595 *Marriage Customs.*—Polygamy is very generally practised among the Araucanos, the only limit to the number of wives a man may possess being his ability to

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

602 One point stands out: The relationship, accord-
[604] ing to Havestadt (1883, 2:704), which was of greatest esteem was the llopu one between maternal uncle and maternal nephew; the former had to give his daughters to the latter in marriage; the latter had to help his maternal uncle in all things. There is no record of institutionalized joking relationship among kin.

601 **Kinship terminology.**—The kinship terminology of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* is extremely complex. It is of the Omaha type (cf. supra under Marriage) insofar as a man calls his mother's brother's daughter "mother," and she calls him "son," and in some other respects (Hallowell, 1943). It is made up predominantly, though not exclusively, of reciprocal terms. It is in large measure classificatory. There has occurred considerable change of terminology since the first decade of the 17th century, as evidenced by comparison of Luis de Valdivia's (1887) list of 1606 and Febrés' (1882) of 1765, and Havestadt's (1883) of 1777 with Guevara Silva's (1904, pp. 24–27; 1908, pp. 64–66; 1913, pp. 191–94) and Félix José's (1916).

SOCIOPOLITICAL CULTURE

621 **Political structure.**—Our sources are so vague and often so conflict-
619 ing as regards so much of the sociopolitical structure of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* that it is impossible to reconstruct therefrom a full, rounded, and consistent picture.

622 Some major features of the system, however, are quite clear. There was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority for all the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in any one individual or administrative body. Furthermore, such authority as was vested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized right to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering. Headmen or "chiefs" sent their messages through heralds (werken) chosen for dependability and for accuracy of memory (Guevara Silva, 1908, pp 370–74).

Supreme military commanders in important campaigns or in general uprisings against the Spaniards were usually elected in open assembly by choice of the leaders, but kinship heads and other "chiefs" were as a general rule hereditary. On the death of such a kinship head or "chief," his eldest or most capable son ordinarily succeeded him. If the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

present-day Araucanians had the Omaha system of reckoning kin. He suggested there was "some possibility that the historical development of these features may be traced," although results in this direction had been "somewhat discouraging" (Hallowell 1943:489–90).

In 1948 Titiev did a field study of a few Mapuche groups living on reservations near the small town of Cholchol, in Cautín Province (1951). He remarked that Latcham's work in the same area some fifty years before would serve as a base line for his own study in the dynamics of culture change. Titiev carefully delimited his area and indicated that the results of his field work applied only to the Indians in the region around Cholchol (1951:2). Few other geographico-cultural qualifications of this sort may be found in the literature dealing with the Araucanians, except for a rather vague recognition of the grosser divisions mentioned above: Picunche, Mapuche, Huilliche. It seems, however, that Titiev exceeded his self-imposed limits when he offered an evolutionary hypothesis stated in terms general enough to include all of Mapuche society (1951:49ff.). At any rate, the impression lingers that there has been a good deal of regional uniformity, at given periods in history, in Araucanian kinship structure as well as in the broader aspects of social organization, and that this is true today.

The vagueness and insufficiency of the data in the chronicles frequently render it impossible to be definitive concerning historical social forms. There is so little direct information about the kinship terminology and behavior of the Picunche and Huilliche that all searching analyses of Araucanian kinship must, perforce, deal with the Mapuche. Latcham, who certainly did most to show regional divisions among the Araucanians, conveniently ignored regional bounds in documenting his thesis of matrilineal organization. Furthermore, local variation within the Mapuche area has been largely glossed over, in part from lack of field work among the Mapuche, although evidence of such variation is not entirely wanting in the historical material.

TWO BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

The following two assumptions regarding the evolution of Araucanian society, which appear both in the historic literature and recent field reports on the Mapuche (cf. Cooper 1946:724; Titiev 1951:51 et passim), are here questioned:

(1) That Araucanian society was matrilineally organized at the time of the Spanish invasion of Chile, and that aspects of matrilineality survived into the eighteenth century.

(2) That there has been considerable change in Araucanian kinship since the early 1600's, and that the latter-day patrilineal organization is reflected in the Omaha system (as reported by Hallowell and Titiev).

Latcham's thesis is perhaps the best documented theory of the development of Araucanian social organization. It is subscribed to in part by Titiev (1951:51), but is not in accord with the theories of other serious students of Araucanian culture, notably Luis de Valdivia (1606), Febrés (1765), Have-

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

121 stadt (1777), Félix José de Augusta (1907, 1916), Guevara Silva (1908, 1913, 1929), and Moesbach (1936). Latcham's thesis of the matrilineal origins of 114 Araucanian society was partly an attempt to refute the theory of aboriginal 611 promiscuity which apparently was then in vogue in Chile, a point that makes the crusading flavor of his book more easily understood.

Titiev notes that there is the "likelihood that early historic Mapuche society had a matrilineal bias" (1951:51), and incorporates this idea into his own reconstruction of Araucanian social evolution. This is our main reason for touching upon Latcham's matrilineal hypothesis in this paper.

Two pieces of evidence fundamental to Latcham's argument for the priority of matrilineal organization are based on the transfer of property to women. Drawing from an early source, Latcham stated (a) that an Indian woman in Copiapó Valley, in the extreme northern part of Picunche territory, inherited a large expanse of land and that in this region, although husbands managed such wealth, ownership was in the hands of their wives (1924:86). This is the only reference to aboriginal matrilineal inheritance in the literature of the period known to the writer, although it is cited several times. In a related attempt to establish matrilineal succession, Latcham cited (b) the inheritance of a large tract of land south of Santiago by the mestiza offspring of the marriage of a Spanish conquistador and a Picunche woman (1924:87).

Such data are inconclusive and Latcham's acceptance of them uncritical. The situations described seem to be exceptions to aboriginal practice, as they are almost surely structural adjustments, respectively, to Inca and Spanish acculturative influences.

Although Latcham's reasoning is more refined in his examination of *kuga* (an ill-defined kinship unit), here too his arguments lack conviction when used to bolster the theory that material wealth and prerogatives passed in the female line. Some of his most important arguments seem to rest on manipulation of linguistic elements and the constant iteration of the precept that totemism and matrilineal organization are somehow inextricably bound together in the foetal stage of society in general (see Cooper 1946:722–23 for discussion of *kuga* and citation of sources). He promulgated this view even though he wrote that "all the chroniclers are in agreement that sons inherited material wealth and titles from their fathers since before the conquest" (1924:57).

121 The second basic assumption mentioned above is that there have been con-
114 siderable changes in Araucanian kinship nomenclature since Luis de Valdivia's
●601 time (1606), and that these changes are difficult to interpret (cf. Titiev 1951: 3–4). Cooper wrote that "The kinship terminology of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* is extremely complex" (1946:724), a statement which possibly alludes more to the historical complexities involving change than to the recently recorded Omaha terminology. A further contention, hinging on the matter of change in social organization, is that the strong latter-day patrilineality among the Mapuche receives general expression in the Omaha pattern. This is at least tacitly accepted by Hallowell (1943), Titiev (1951), Cooper (1946), and Murdock (1949), with no specific mention of the possible regional variations in reckoning kinship relations within Araucanía today.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Actually, an examination of the historical kinship terminologies reveals a good deal of consistency in the kinds of changes which have occurred, insofar as they indicate a trend toward stronger patrilineality. It is possible, furthermore, to show that some of the changes have been effected by the successful competition of one of two or more terms present in the earliest lists. Some of these "survivors," as well as other terms, appear today as apocopations of circumlocutory expressions used earlier (and occasionally used today). The fact that they are used today when greater precision is desired indicates that they may have been used in the past (and so recorded) in order to convey "exact" information to the early students of Araucanian language and culture. Their "disappearance," therefore, does not necessarily reflect change.

There is no doubt that the Omaha pattern of kinship nomenclature exists in a full-blown form around Cholchol, where Hallowell's informant came from and where Titiev (1951:49ff.) worked. However, the areal distribution of this pattern seems to be confined to the northwest sector of Araucanía (see below p. 447), where Omaha terminology appears as a rather late development (not recorded in kinship lists collected as late as the first decades of the twentieth century).

One finds significant differences between the terminologies of Titiev and Hallowell on the one hand, and Latcham and his contemporaries on the other. However, in 1953 the writer collected kinship data which are in some ways intermediate. These findings raise questions in regard to both the historical development of Araucanian social organization and the representativeness of the Omaha system among the Mapuche of the recent past and present day.

THE HISTORICAL MATERIAL

The lists appearing in this section are diagrammed on the basis of historical terminologies taken from lexicons and other works about the Mapuche. Diagram 1 is composed of terms collected by Valdivia (1606), and may be taken as representative of the terminology in use during at least the latter part of the sixteenth century; Diagram 2 is a composite of terms recorded by Febrés (1765) and Havestadt (1777) in the eighteenth century; Diagram 3 is made up of three lists (see p. 442) compiled in the early part of the twentieth century.

Taken together, all three diagrams, along with the relevant descriptive data, serve to show that:

(1) Certain features associated with patrilineal organization and important in the development of the Omaha pattern (e.g. polygyny; disregard of generation seen in cross-generational marriage and in the inheritance of the avuncular role) have roots in the beginnings of recorded Araucanian history.

(2) A trend toward a fully developed Omaha system seems to have been arrested in most of Araucanía—perhaps because of some of the very pressures often cited to explain emergence of stronger patrilineal organization (e.g., warfare and enhancement of the male role in regard to warfare; group solidarity in time of hostilities).

Although many terms are missing in the earliest kinship lists, parallel- and cross-cousins are recorded, the consanguineal relatives of the parental genera-

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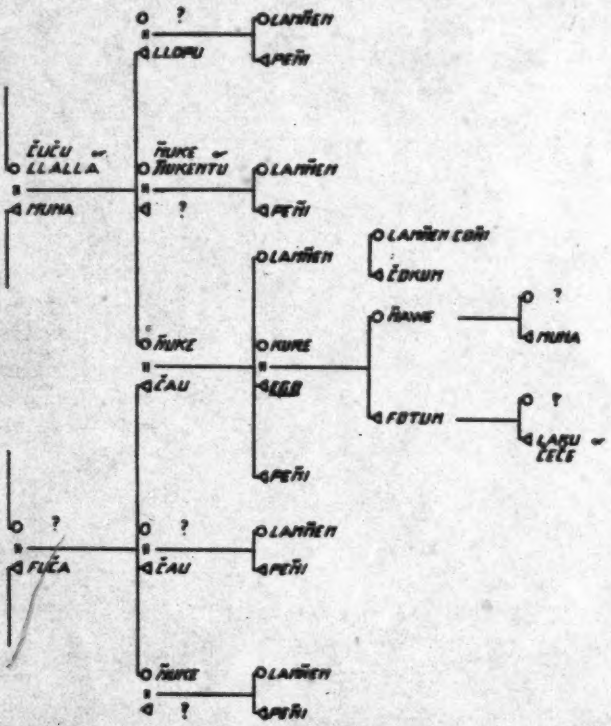

DIAGRAM 1. Mapuche kinship terminology as collected by Valdivia (1606).

tion are listed, and five generations in all are represented. The close agreement of these three lists represented in Diagrams 1 and 2 has been noted by Cooper (1946:724). Nevertheless, a few significant terminological changes were important and will be discussed below. The kinship data, as well as other descriptive material, show that certain aspects of kinship associated with patrilineal organization were in evidence at least as early as Luis de Valdivia's recording of them, that is, before 1606.

On Ego's generation parallel- and cross-cousins are classed with siblings in Diagrams 1 and 2. Modifiers were used (as they are today) to differentiate "cousins" from Ego's siblings when specificity was desired. A similar device served to distinguish own father and mother from FaBr, MoSi, and stepparents (who seem often to have been FaBr or MoSi).[2] Prefixes were employed to differentiate older and younger brothers and sisters: e.g., *yunan* and *ynan peñi/lamñen*. This is also encountered today. Another manner of more descriptive expression was circumlocution.[3]

It is evident from Diagrams 1 and 2 that in the handling of cousin terms the system does not yet show Omaha features. MoBrCh are not called "uncle"

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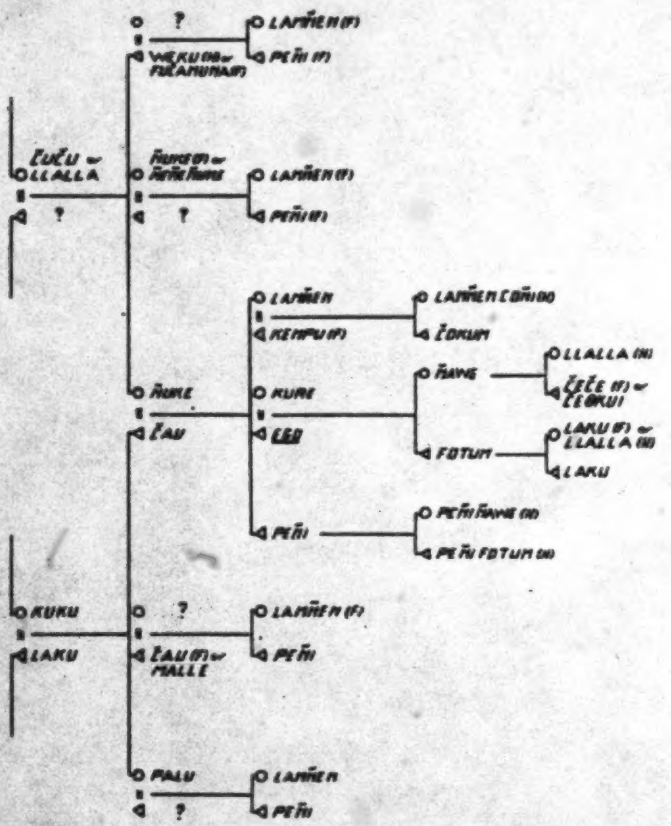

DIAGRAM 2. Composite kinship terminology of Mapuche, based upon Febrés (F) and Havestadt (H). Unmarked terms from both sources.

and "mother," for example. There is no break in the generation principle on Ego's age level. The use of reciprocal terms on alternate generations (Diagram 2) is, however, a departure from this principle and remains a special feature of the system today. However, judging from in-law terms recorded by Febrés, generation was terminologically disregarded between Ego and his wife's siblings and parents after marriage. Ego called WiSi and WiFaSi by a wife derivative (*kurun*); and WiFa, WiFaBr, and WiBr by an identical term (*kenpu*). There seems to be no description of such cross-generational marriages having taken place. However, because of the vagueness of chronicle reports regarding marriage and incest, the possibility, as reflected in the kinship terms, is not excluded.

On the first ascending generation the merging tendency apparent in

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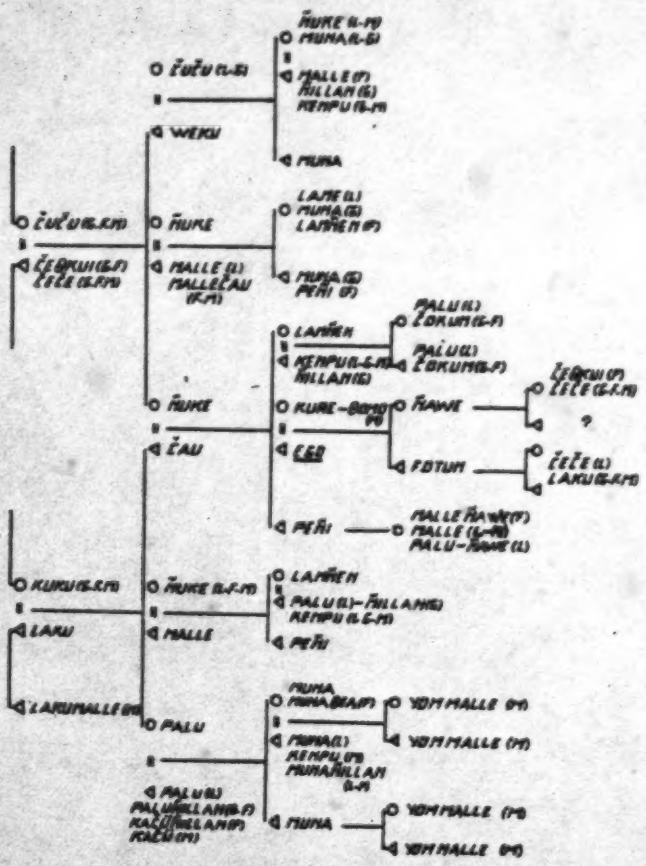

DIAGRAM 3. Composite kinship systems from Cautín Province, Chile, by Latcham (L), Guevara (G), Félix José (F) and Moesbach (M). Unmarked terms from all four sources.

Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) seems to have given way to bifurcate-merging, as seen in the terms of Febrés and Havestadt (Diagram 2). According to Valdivia, Fa and FaBr were called "father"; Mo and FaSi were called "mother," and a mother derivative was used for MoSi (referred to as step-mother).[4] Affinal terms are missing.

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There appears to be no terminological support for a theory of matrilineal organization. On the contrary, although no rule of descent is immediately discernible, bilocality or patrilocality are suggested by the terminological identification on the parental generation, and patrilineality is attested to in the descriptive references regarding descent and widespread polygyny in the historical material (Mariño de Lovera 1864:124: Bascuñan 1863:453 et passim;

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Brouwer 1892:81). In the sixteenth century polygyny involved many wives, more for example than could easily be associated with sororal polygyny in a matrilineally organized society.[5]

Polygyny prevailed despite innumerable attempts by Spanish officials and clerics to discourage it. Its tenacity, its early mention in the sources, and its fairly elaborate status-structuring (Cooper 1946; 721, citing Marcgrav 1648: 285) indicate that its roots may lie deeper in Araucanian history than the coming of the Spaniards.

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The sororate is seemingly reflected in the use of a mother derivative for MoSi. The practice receives some confirmation by Valdivia and Febrés in their remarks about the role of the MoSi as stepmother, and in their recording of a derivative wife term (*kurun*) for WiSi. Latcham, however, mentioned that it was common for two brothers to marry sisters from another household. This practice seems to be the key to understanding the relationship of the sororate, sororal polygyny, and the levirate.

Fa and FaBr were identified. The paternal uncle was and still is sometimes referred to by a combination of the two terms: *malle chau*. If they generally lived in the same household or if the families were in regular day-to-day association, Ego might tend to call FaBrWi "mother" simply because of the role she would customarily play. This would hold regardless of whether the two women were sisters. However, in view of Latcham's observation, sororal marriage very likely came at the death of a man's brother (e.g., Fa married FaBr widow—sister to his own wife) and was polygynous, rather than coming after the death of own wife and being monogamous.

If sororal polygyny was at all a common marriage practice in early times, it seems probable that it was a secondary marriage in the sense that a man married his WiSi upon the death of her husband (who could traditionally have been his brother) and also secondary in the sense that nonsororal polygyny prevailed over the sororal form. Indeed, sororal polygyny appears to be an outgrowth of the leviratical obligation and, for historical reasons to be discussed later, the levirate itself seems to have emerged strongly as a postcontact development.

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Of significance, insofar as cross-cousin marriage and generation-breaking tendencies are concerned, is the term *llopu* (MoBr) which appears in Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) and is not recorded thereafter for the maternal uncle, except for Havestadt's mention of it as an "ancient" designation for the mother's brother. Febrés, however, reported its use, by a female, for the paternal uncle. Havestadt noted that the *llopu* relationship was an avuncular one, and entailed unilateral preferential marriage of Ego and his maternal cross-cousin. This practice may well have antedated Valdivia's recording of the term. At any rate, the indication is that MoBrDa marriage existed in early Conquest times, if not as a pre-Spanish custom. Although there is no descriptive evidence that the avuncular role was inherited and there is no terminological equation of MoBr and MoBrSo, this generation-breaking aspect of the Omaha system is foreshadowed.

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174 601 The following are examples of historical constancy. The terms for son and daughter and for SiCh have remained the same throughout recorded Araucanian history; it is suggested that BrCh, *peñi fotum* and *peñi ñawe*, are shortened circumlocutory phrases (e.g., *ñi peñi ñi fotum:* the son of my brother, etc.). These expressions are used today for greater clarity in describing the degree of relationship and through whom the relationship is figured. The use of *malle fotum* appears to have been a variant which endured in that form or was further shortened to *malle*, one of several reciprocal terms used in a classificatory manner. (Note the combination of *malle* with "father" on the parental generation.)

174 601 611 114 Although the early lexicographers did not give full attention to female-speaking terms, a few have been recorded. The most controversial of these, in view of the interpretation Latcham placed on it, is the single term *lame*, used between certain females for whom he assumed a matrilineal relationship. He believed it indicated that matrilineal clans existed. Both Valdivia and Havestadt noted that a woman called her sister *lame* and, though not precisely stated, certainly implied that all female "cousins" were also called by this term. This usage extended the term to kin whose relationship was figured through the FaBr and the FaSi as well as through maternal relatives. Furthermore, half-sisters were also called *lame* when related only through the father. This weakens Latcham's implications for matrilineal totemic clans.[6]

174 591 601 It was stated above that while no rule of descent is apparent in the first diagram, some indication of residence is suggested. In the use of a mother term for FaSi (Valdivia) we have a possible clue to the rule of residence in existence prior to 1600. It suggests that FaSi played a socio-psychological role by which she could be identified with Ego's mother. Therefore, she presumably had frequent and intimate contact with Ego and his household. This could have occurred if the pre-Spanish settlements were multilineage and endogamous. There is some indirect evidence to support this hypothesis, for it seems that several lineages lived in close juxtaposition on the riverine lands which they farmed (Molina 1808:18, 54; Pedro de Valdivia 1896:453–54). There is no [476] doubt that these farming groups co-operated in the building of irrigation ditches and houses, and that they engaged in other communal undertakings (Pulgar 1902:58). The frequent mention of "incest" found in the chronicles may refer to the inbreeding resulting from settlement endogamy in which sexual relations with "close" relatives were predominant.

174 601 604 The physical proximity of intermarrying lineages would certainly tie in with the avuncular relationship between Ego and the maternal uncle, though this is not dependent upon such spatial arrangements. But the absence of this proximity during the Araucanian wars seems to have fostered exogamy and deterred the development of an avunculate in which the role of the maternal uncle passed across the generations to his son and grandson. When later the reservation system stabilized residential groups, the deterrent factors diminished or disappeared, a solidarity incongruent with generations of hostility was instituted, and the Omaha pattern (as found in the Cholchol region) came into being.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Some aspects of Spanish-Araucanian warfare indicate reasons for possible changes in settlement pattern and the composition of social aggregates. For example, disruptions caused by adverse military encounters began for the Araucanians around Santiago, in the Picunche region, and spread north and south from there. When the Picunche were fighting Spanish troops during the first few years of the Chilean colonization, socio-economic arrangements underwent considerable change. The riverine groups left their farming sites for a semi-nomadic existence in the hills and bush. Some migrated south of the Bio-Bio River and took refuge with the Mapuche. There is good evidence to show that the larger kin groups broke up into segments which could better support themselves by occasional small harvests of maize and collection of wild seeds and roots (Pedro de Valdivia 1861:4). From time to time these scattered groups banded together in larger numbers than had formerly compriscd the agricultural settlements, but only to carry out raids against the Spanish settlement of Santiago. This situation—the breakup of residential units and the massing of large attacking forces—has striking parallels with the one which existed for several centuries south of the Bio-Bio River in the territory of the Mapuche. In this respect, therefore, warfare seems not to have fostered the development of stronger patrilineal organization. Warfare and the migrations it engendered seem to have resulted in an instability in the smaller social aggregates. There was reorganization and solidification on the politico-military level, while the smaller units of the population, as reflected in the kinship terminology of Diagrams 1 and 2, were less affected in both rate and degree of change.

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Although patrilineal tendencies were strengthened as the centuries wore on and warfare diminished, there is no reason to assume that such development was uniform either in rate or in regional distribution. Nevetheless, patrilocality and patrilineality generally appear very strong in later times.

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Let us turn now from features related to patriliny to a consideration of other features of the kinship system. Diagram 3 is a composite of terms collected by Latcham (1924), Guevara Silva (1908, 1913, 1929), Félix José (1907, 1916), and Moesbach (1936). All worked in Cautín Province: Latcham near Temuco and Cholchol; Félix José in several parts of the Province; Guevara Silva near Temuco and also in the Province of Valdivia; Moesbach at Lago Budi along the Pacific Coast.

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There is a gap of about four or five generations between the observations of Havestadt and those of Latcham and his contemporaries. During this time the kinship structure and over-all social organization underwent certain changes, the most striking of which is a weakening of the generation principle: WiBrDa marriage appears reflected in the terminology in strong association with patrilineality, tending toward expression of the Omaha pattern.

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On Ego's generation parallel-cousins are called siblings, but cross-cousins, while differentiated from them and from Ego's siblings, are still not handled in the Omaha manner. An exception, however, is that MoBrDa is called "mother," a direct reflection of the cross-generational WiBrDa marriage. There are in-

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dications in Moesbach that there were corresponding changes in this descendency, insofar as MoBrDaCh were called "brother" and "sister." However, Latcham and Guevara recorded a cousin term (*muna*) for MoBrDa, again suggesting an unevenness in the pattern of distribution of cross-generation marriage.

Though there are still many terms lacking in this diagram, the affinal terms on Ego's generation are now fairly complete and, interestingly, display considerable variation. It is uncertain whether the "alternate" terms were distinctive localized ones or were in direct competition over a wide area, but this may be resolved by assuming a differential change in rate from region to region, with contemporaneous differences acting as steps in a general transition during a time of considerable flux. Warfare, population loss, the splitting up of settlements because of migration (to Argentina and to the less disturbed regions south of Cautín Province), and the imposition of reservations after the rebellion of 1880–82, all contributed to further reshuffling of the social aggregates. Many of the social differences in Araucanía today seem to have their roots in the recent past.

The social alignments which developed out of the break-up of the earlier exogamous settlements during the colonial period (when warfare was more intensive) affected residence rules and marriage practices. In line with this change, we see that FaSiHu and FaBrDaHu were at first called by the same term as their spouses. There is no descriptive historic material to help explain this phenomenon in terms of marriage regulations. However, it seems that these males were really outsiders who generally had no close ties with their wives' kin groups. This situation would be consistent with the development of a pattern of patrilocal residence and its strengthening, which accompanied the splitting up of the former multilineage settlements that had an endogamous bias. The change in the terms of the affinals in question reflect the new situation. In the case of FaSiHu, there was a change from a term which identified him as the husband of the paternal aunt (*ɸalu*) to a term which may be loosely translated as "one who has purchased" (*ñillan*). As a possible intermediate step there seems to have been a combination of the two terms, a circumlocution, "the one who has purchased the maternal aunt," indicating the pattern of wife purchase which was an integral part of the exogamously organized Mapuche society.

Judging from recorded marriage practice as well as from kinship terminology, there is little doubt that MoSiHu and MoBrDaHu could have been the same person as either Fa or FaBr. The operation of the levirate, the sororate, the fact that it was common for brothers to marry sisters from another household, and the cross-generational marriage with WiBrDa account for this equation.

The levirate and sororate are known historically (see e.g. Mariño de Lovera 1865 [ca 1594]:124; Guevara Silva 1913:40), and WiBrDa marriage is part of oral history. Even if WiBrDa marriage is not described in chronicle material (Cooper 1946:719), it is nevertheless reflected in the female-speaking

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terms collected by Valdivia. Present-day informants sometimes remark that age differences between spouses in the WiBrDa marriage are not always taken into consideration in contracting the marriage. When age is not considered, the marriage is usually viewed in the light of moral obligation. The obligation is either to take care of the WiBrDa because she cannot support herself, or for the purpose of cementing interfamilial bonds. Both of these reasons are possible outgrowths of the break-up of former well-knit settlements due to unsuccessful warfare and contingent social and economic disorders.

The change from merging to bifurcate-merging on the parental generation is apparent by 1765 (Diagram 2), when Febrés recorded a difference in terms used for paternal aunt on the one hand, and Mo and MoSi on the other. It is highly probable that the terminological change reflects the establishment of exogamous patrilineal organization, as suggested above. It is also likely that the levirate became surrounded with strong moral obligations which did not exist formerly, due largely to the insecurity entailed in the loss of adult males through death and slave raids. Sororal polygyny, if not occasioned by this turn of events, was surely strengthened and became more widespread. It seems, therefore, that these secondary forms of marriage, under the new conditions engendered by socially and economically disruptive warfare, became important enough and of high enough incidence to have affected the structure of the system.

In summarizing the implications of the kinship diagrams in this section and the relevant historical material of the period, it seems that there are several traits in negative association with matri-organization and in positive association with patri-organization. The latter tend toward the emergence of the Omaha pattern.

Polygyny

Apparently polygyny was widespread, and involved a system of wife-grading in which some wives had separate dwellings and special prerogatives. In view of the many wives sometimes held, the practice seems to have been largely nonsororal in type. The sororal type seems to have been a special feature which depended on the levirate and the fact that two brothers married sisters from another household.

Avunculate

There was a close relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle which involved preferential, unilateral cross-cousin marriage. This form of marriage is still practiced and was almost obligatory a generation ago. In the region where Omaha nomenclature is presently found there is a terminological identification of MoBr and MoBrSo, which implies inheritance of certain rights and obligations irrespective of generation. This disregard of generation, apparently a step toward a fuller expression of the Omaha system, seems to have been incipient as early as Valdivia's time.

Reciprocity

The use of reciprocal terms on alternate generations is a departure from the principle of regarding generation in reckoning kin. As such, this principle seems another trend toward the stronger patri-forms later embodied in the Omaha pattern.

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Merging

From a pattern in which Mo, FaSi, and, probably, MoSi were identified—a pattern suggesting settlement endogamy—there developed a system of bifurcate-merging which, in the light of descriptive accounts, indicates the establishment of exogamous groups which were patrilocal and patrilineal.

Cross-generation Marriage

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In Diagram 3 there appears a break in the generation principle in the use of a mother term for MoBrDa. The identification with Ego's mother indicates that the father (or FaBr) married his WiBrDa. This marriage practiceseems to have been in competition with MoBrDa marriage (the unilateral cross-cousin type), perhaps throughout recorded Araucanian history. Female-speaking terminology supports the existence of WiBrDa marriage in that Ego, the FaSi, and the BrDa marriage are identified. There also appears to be some indication of this in the in-law terms recorded by Febrés.

Levirate and Sororate

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The kinship terminology in Diagrams 1 and 2 reflects the marriage of two brothers with women from another household under patrilocal residence. The levirate appears to have become widespread only in postcontact times. There is no indication in the literature that the sororate was at all widely practiced until the moral obligations centering around the levirate became strong as a resultof warfare and contingent socioeconomic instability, and it seems that sororal polygyny rather than monogamous sororal marriage was practiced.

RECENT FIELD MATERIAL

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Hallowell suggested that Araucanians now have the Omaha kinship system, and Titiev confirmed its existence in the vicinity of Cholchol. The following diagnostic traits were listed: (1) parallel-cousins classed with siblings, (2) FaSiCh classed with SiCh, (3) MoBrSo called "maternal uncle", and (4) MoBrDa called "mother."

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The present writer worked briefly around Nueva Imperial, Galvarino, and just south of Angol in an attempt to determine the extent of the Omaha pattern, after failing to find it in other parts of Araucanía. It is fairly certain that the Omaha type ends, in the south, in a zone of mixture a few kilometers wide on either side of the Imperial River, at least from Boroa to Carahue.

The Galvarino data were inconclusive and the kin terms obtained from three informants near Angol did not satisfactorily cover the diagnostic areas of the system. It seems, however, that the Omaha pattern, insofar as the handling of FaSiCh is concerned, does not extend into the coastal range in the west, but only two informants from this region were questioned. East of Cholchol there seems to be another mixed zone running approximately parallel to the highway and railroad route which cuts through the Central Valley. However, there are small, scattered groups of Mapuche throughout the entire region, and more detailed field work is needed to establish reasonably certain boundaries.

Diagram 4 does not include terminology collected in this fringe zone or in the northern and western parts of the northwest sector of Araucanía, but

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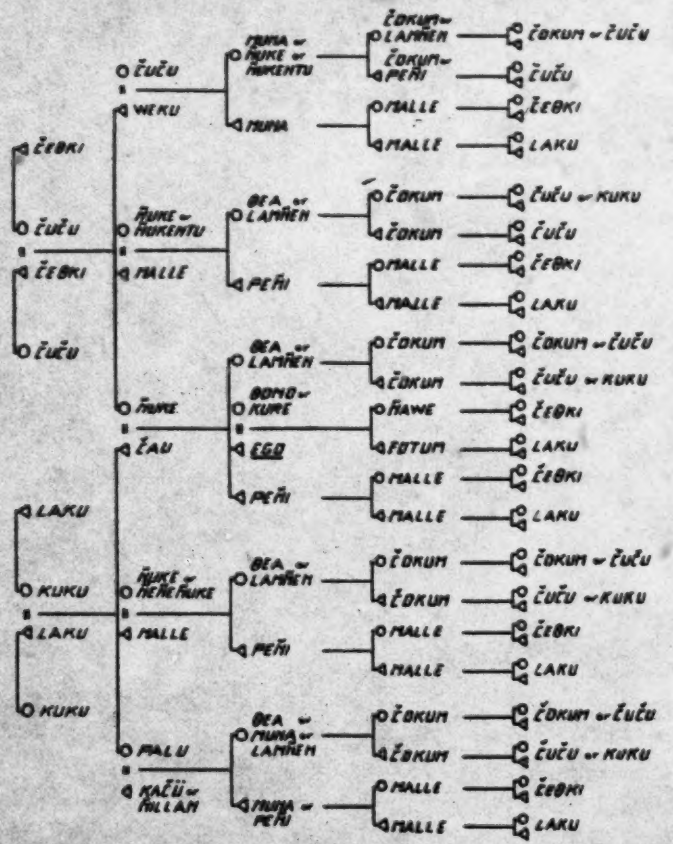

DIAGRAM 4. Araucanian kinship terminology from Cautín Province, Chile, 1953. Field data.

terms obtained in 1953 in the provinces of Cautín and Malleco, in the following regions: (1) southeast of Temuco, (2) west of Quepe, (3) the general region around Toltén, (4) south of Villarrica, (5) Lonquimay, and (6) Isla Huapi, Lago Budi.

The results, as recorded in the diagram, are fairly uniform. Wherever more than one term is listed for the same relative they are alternates in common use.

On Ego's generation we see that parallel-cousins are classed with siblings and that cross-cousins are still differentiated by the *muna* term. *Muna*, however, is sometimes used in combination with a brother or sister term, indicating the closeness felt in this relationship. Older and younger siblings and cousins are differentiated by using the qualifiers *unan* or *inan* when specificity is de-

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 sired, as was also the case in the sixteenth century. One respect in which generation is broken is in the use of a mother term for MoBrDa. However, MoBrSo is not called "uncle," and FaSiCh are not equated with SiCh, as they are in the Omaha system.

Bifurcate-merging is seen on the parental generation with Fa and FaBr being identified behaviorally and, occasionally, terminologically through the combination of Fa and FaBr terms. Mo and MoSi are identified behaviorally and terminologically, and FaBrWi is included in this equation through the operation of the levirate and sororal polygyny and the custom whereby brothers marry sisters from another household. MoSiHu is called "FaBr" for like reasons. FaBrWi is called "mother" or a mother derivative, regardless of whether or not she is Ego's MoSi. Even with present-day neolocal residence, [593] Fa and FaBr are generally very intimate, and can be identified by Ego in their socio-psychological roles. By extension, this is also true in regard to their spouses. Cross-uncles and cross-aunts are differentiated from the above group.

Terminologically there has been little change on the grandparental generation since the earliest times. On the first descending generation there has been no change in the treatment of own or of sister's and brother's children, except for the clear establishment of certain terms which seemed to be in competition in previous lists.

The historical terminologies do not afford a base for comparison with the rest of the "nephew" terms. However, there are important diagnostic differences between these and the ones reported by Titiev (1951:39) and Raguileo (1953:343–59). The terms recorded in Diagram 4 do not reflect the generation-breaking pattern found in the Omaha system, except for the above-mentioned descendence in the MoBr line. The logical continuation of this break, however, is not emphasized in the regions studied by the writer, except in and on the fringe of the Cholchol region.

The grandchildren terms maintain the generation principle in the descendencies, with the rare exception already noted, and there is a differentiation according to the sex of the person through whom the relationship is figured. Both on the third ascending and third descending generations numbers or "distance prefixes" are used, along with current grandparental and grandchild terms.

582 835 There is a complexity about the incest regulations which reflects the breakdown of the kinship system and the associated sanctioned forms of behavior, rather than nuances inherent in the system itself. The result is a pervading uncertainty regarding permissible sexual and marriage partners outside the most customary practices. Because of the number of seeming contradictions and regional variations, the matter of incest regulations will merely be touched on in this paper.

For one thing, informants agree that marriage with MoBrDa was an almost obligatory practice in the remembered past and according to oral tradition learned in childhood. But marriage with MoBrDa was and is by no means a cut and dried matter, nor do incest regulations play a prominent part in its

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arrangement. Formerly, Ego and his Fa or FaBr seem to have competed for marriage partners. The forms of marriage in question were MoBrDa and WiBrDa which, in the case of Ego and his Fa or FaBr, involved the same potential mate. This competition was expressed in direct statement, innuendo, and in a number of songs dealing with *kurumtukui* (i.e. taking *kurus*).

Today discord between families sometimes thwarts one or more of the cross-cousin outlets for marriage. When this situation exists, or when there is exceptional physical distance between the families, Ego tends to marry a "local" girl, who may however be a member of the larger kin group. It is likely that during the turbulent war years cross-cousin marriages often went by the board for similar reasons. The establishment of peaceful conditions permitted the avuncular pattern to strengthen. Apparently it had a florescence during the early decades of the twentieth century, under the reservation system, finally gaining terminological expression in the Cholchol region. Gifford's remarks about the passing to the son of the right to marry WiBrDa seem to be applicable to this situation (see Hallowell 1943:491). The use of a mother term for the daughter of the maternal uncle suggests the former dominance of WiBrDa marriage. As Murdock suggests, in a passage pertinent to this situation (1949:168), a long time was necessary before avuncular rights were inherited by MoBrSo and before this succession was reflected in the kinship nomenclature. However, it seems that the generations of disruptive warfare and desultory, semi-migratory horticultural and herding activities tended to perpetuate an instability in local groupings and kinship alignments which, in turn, deterred the development of the avunculate and other features of strongly institutionalized patri-organization. Once the reservation system introduced a generally peaceful situation and set up the preconditions for sedentary and more intensive agricultural activities, local kin groups were stabilized and increased in size, patrilocality and patrilineality acquired new importance (especially in regard to inheritance of land), and, where this favorable milieu existed, the Omaha pattern seems to have developed.

Titiev pointed out that the former practice of patrilocality, in which large households of kin were not uncommon, has recently given way to neolocal residence. In general, reservation exogamy is maintained and sons often establish separate households near their parental home. The effects of change from unilocal households to neolocal households depends on the proximity of the offshoots to one another and to the parental household, as well as on the amount of contact customarily maintained among them.

Some of the recent changes in residence may be understood only from the point of view of external and internal migration, which have reshuffled the social aggregates. One aspect of external migration bears directly on one of the "basic assumptions" regarding matrilineality, and therefore will be reviewed at this point.

Latcham (1924:82) argued that matrilineal traits endured until the end of the eighteenth century,[7] referring mainly to the naming customs which he associated with totemic clans and matrilineal inheritance. I suggest that

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Latcham may have been unduly influenced by a "pseudo-matriliny," which derives from short-term matrilocality. Evidence for this was found in 1953 near Toltén, and its occurrence in the past is attested to in oral tradition.

Around the time of the reprisals following the rebellion of 1880–82, which seem to have been greater near Nueva Imperial than in the Toltén region, many Mapuche migrated southward, their departure generally entailing forfeiture of land rights. Thus landless, they settled and married in the Toltén region, living on the land of their fathers-in-law. According to Chilean law and Mapuche custom at the time of the reservation program, these married-in males had little or no legal claim to land in the new area. Today some of these in-marrying males who are still alive, and others who have migrated more recently, remark that they have only de facto control over their wife's land. They state, however, that their sons will inherit from them, and it is clear from family histories that in a generation or two this anomaly is eradicated and patrilineality prevails. Given the historical descriptions of Spanish-Araucanian warfare, this occurrence of temporary matrilocality may have taken place repeatedly.

In his discussion of Araucanian social organization, Titiev wrote that "the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage practices" and that "greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage" (1951:38). The marriage practices are indeed reflected in the kinship terminology, but one cannot agree that unilateral cross-cousin marriage is so revealed. Actually, marriage with MoBrDa is not indicated in the nomenclature. MoBrDa is terminologically identified with women on the parental generation and her children are often called "brother" and "sister" by Ego. What is therefore indicated is the "disputed" practice of marriage with WiBrDa (Titiev 1951:49; Hallowell 1943:490). Cross-cousin marriage attained dominance at a time when the cross-generational type was passing from the scene, along with the lagging of polygyny and leviratic obligations. That the terminology has not reflected the dominance of MoBrDa marriage is an indication of its generally late appearance as a preferential type.

According to Titiev (1951:49), Hallowell's recording of the "disputed" WiBrDa marriage hinges on an error in translation in which there was a failure to distinguish between WiBrDa and MoBrDa. As a rule, the wife term is not *ñuke* (as recorded by Titiev) but *kure* or *ñomo*, and from *kure* is derived the WiSi and WiBrDa term, *kurun*. If *ñuke* is used at all in reference to the wife it is in the combined form *ñuke kure*, a more descriptive term designating MoBrDa only after marriage. The writer never heard *ñuke* used for wife, and only obtained the information about *ñuke kure* after considerable probing. At any rate, it seems to exist only as a possible linguistic construction rather than as a term in even limited use. It does not appear in any of the historical sources used by the writer. Actually, there is little room for error in this matter of terminology. Hallowell got to the core of the situation in his discussion of marriage between Ego and *kurun* (WiSi and/or WiBrDa) (1943:491).

The study of Anselmo Raguileo (1953) should be mentioned because of the gross inaccuracy of his sketch map, which presents a distorted picture of

8: Faron E-S (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

the distribution of Omaha terminology in Araucanía. It shows three widely separated groups in Cautín Province having Omaha terminology, whereas two of the groups are in the avowedly Omaha area centering around Cholchol, and the third group is undoubtedly an offshoot from this nucleus that migrated to the Andean foothills. Thus the three groups are an expression of a single occurrence.

The present non-Omaha pattern prevalent in Araucanía raises questions about the evolution of Araucanian social organization. Is the non-Omaha pattern a development toward a full Omaha type, as found in the Cholchol region, or is it a change away from a once greater-extended Omaha pattern? The latter possibility is unlikely since the nomenclature collected in 1953 has great similarity with that of the early twentieth century. Therefore, as was suggested at the beginning of this paper, the present-day Omaha pattern is believed to represent an intermediate form. The development of stronger patrilineality in most of Araucanía seems to have been cut off, although there was a florescence of patrilineality in the recent past in the Cholchol region.

It is likely that further change in the terminology will result from the direct substitution of a Spanish word for an Araucanian. This trend is already noticeable in certain parts of Araucanía. It is unlikely that Mapuche terms will be changed in order to bring their meanings more in line with Chilean kinship usage (e.g. substituting a "cousin" term for MoBrDa). Direct substitution will probably spread with the increased use of the Spanish language and the dissemination of Chilean culture.

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF PATRI-ORGANIZATION

When the Spaniards first entered Chile, the Araucanian Indians lived in multilineage farming settlements. Descent was in the male line. Residence may have been either patrilocal or bilocal but, as the settlements were endogamous, postmarital residence did not entail the woman's leaving her natal community.

Economic exploitation and warfare fostered the break-up of these settlements into the several lineages of which they were composed. In some cases there was complete dissolution of the settlements and disappearance of whole kin groups because of wholesale death, long enforced absences of adult males and females, and numerous wanderings and distant migrations.

Although certain factors tended to enhance the status of males, discordant influences counterweighted them and tended to thwart the strengthening of patri-organization. Instability resulted at the lineage level, even though overall politico-military arrangements grew in complexity and seemed to solidify.

The break-up of multilineage groups under the pressure of warfare eventually led to the emergence of stricter patrilocal residence rules and settlement exogamy. The practice of bride purchase apparently continued unaltered with the change from endogamy to exogamy, but WiBrDa marriage and sororal polygyny seem to have taken on a new importance due to the moral obligations surrounding the levirate.

At the same time, it is possible to point to circumstances in which "pere-

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do-matriliny" arising from short-term matrilocal residence may have occurred, such as unsuccessful warfare, migration, and the breakdown of traditional kinship alignments. It is suggested that patri-organization was largely strengthened by events following the cessation of intensive warfare after the middle of the eighteenth century. A new stability was then achieved, population gradually approached the estimated pre-Spanish figure, and (with the introduction of the reservation system in 1866 and later in a revised form after the last Mapuche rebellion) the status of kinship heads or caciques increased, insofar as they were given title to land and became the mediators between their kin groups and the Chilean officials. Population movement lessened and the Indians became hemmed in by reservation boundaries. Still, population pressure had not yet become a problem, and stability brought increased wealth and an elaboration of social and ceremonial customs in which the male role and the patrilineal line were exalted. Precedents for the elaboration of the patrilineal structure can be seen throughout recorded Araucanian history. Important among these are the tendency to disregard generation in the WiBrDa marriage, and the complementary situation in which generation is broken in the inheritance of avuncular duties by MoBrSo. Murdock (1949:168) considers these factors to be likely steps toward the development of the Omaha system, and the evolution of Araucanian society is a case in point. In the Cholchol region there seems to have been the milieu conducive to the development of this tendency and its expression in Omaha terminology.

In conclusion, an attempt will be made to apply the technique suggested by Murdock for reconstruction of the type of kinship systems which may have existed in the recorded and unrecorded past (Murdock 1949:323–352).

Working from the premise that the Omaha pattern represents the latest and fullest development of patrilineal organization, we have the possibility that this system was preceded by a Dakota type, the criteria for which are: Iroquois cousin terminology, patrilineal descent, and patrilocal residence. These conditions are met in Diagram 3 and in the descriptive material pertaining to the period. According to Murdock, Dakota may possibly be preceded by Normal Guinea. This choice seems to be borne out on the basis of the existence of patri-organization and the handling of cousins. It is represented in the terminology recorded by Febrés and Havestadt in Diagram 2. The logical precursor of Normal Guinea, on the basis of cousin terminology and the merging of FaSi, Mo, and MoSi, is Patri-Hawaiian. This may be satisfied by the terminology collected by Valdivia (Diagram 1), suggesting that there may have been a bilateral bias to pre-Spanish Araucanian society.

NOTES

122 [1] Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation for granting the fellowship which made possible a year's field research in Chile.

736 [2] The step-parental role must have been quite important, for the earliest histories mention numerous orphans in the Araucanian settlements. It is not clear if the number of orphans was very large under Inca control or was due to Spanish labor exploitation, but the situation surely worsened during the Spanish colonization.

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[7] Titiev does not mention this, but does remark that teknonomy is practiced. The writer failed to find evidence of teknonomy as such, but encountered circumlocutory expressions which bore a superficial resemblance to teknonomy.

[8] *Ñuñu* may have been a term of direct address. In later times it is transcribed *ñoño* and defined as a term of endearment. Among present-day Mapuche, *ñoño* is used affectionately in direct address. Other similar examples are the use of *chachai* and *fuchai* for father, and *papai* (if used) for mother. The chroniclers' inclusion of both indirect and direct terms of address could have given rise to part of the notion that there has been great historical change in the terminology.

[9] Mariño de Lovera (1865:124) wrote ca. 1594, and the observations in his history cover the period in which the Spaniards first entered Araucanía. His observations made near Nueva Imperial serve to clarify certain points made in this paper exemplifying the social arrangements reflected in Diagram 1, i.e., endogamous settlements having either bilocal or patrilocal residence. His remarks on what has been taken to mean sororal polygyny seem to depend on the interpretation of "hermanas" and "parientes." Given the Araucanian kinship designations there were many so-called "hermanas" who were only "cousins" subsumed under the term *lamäen*. Such would not be what is ordinarily considered sororal polygyny.

[10] MoSi is sometimes called "other mother" (*ka ñuke*). Latcham viewed this identification largely as evidence for a matrilineal clan system, failing to tie in the relationship with marriage practices. Indeed, in working out a kinship diagram on the basis of Latcham's female-speaking terms, one is confronted with the anomaly that preferential, cross-cousin mates fall into the tabooed incest group (compare lists on pp. 85–86 and 102–111, Latcham 1924).

[11] It is noteworthy that Latcham wrote: "A fines del siglo XVIII persistía la filiación materna, al menos al sur del Toltén." This is a region to which landless Mapuche migrated and took up residence on land held by groups into which they married.

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9:Hallowell E-4 (no date)1943 SG4 Araucanians SG4

114 zation of the Araucanians might help to solve this problem and Dr. S. K. Lothrop, who [611] is now in Chile, may obtain data on some of the disputed points. That certain patrilineal traits, at least, have been present in the historic period there is little doubt. Even Latcham admits this. One of these is patrilineal inheritance which bears directly on the [587] problem under discussion. In relation to marriage it operates through the levirate and by the inheritance, by sons, of their father's wives. Collio, moreover, informed me that cross-cousin marriage was practiced. Now Gifford showed that, in the case of the Miwok, the transfer by a man to his sons of the privilege of marriage with the wife's brother's daughter probably led to cross-cousin marriage. I suspect that this was likewise happened among the Araucanians and as in the Miwok case it has apparently not affected their kinship terms to any very noticeable degree.

The Araucanians thus offer a fruitful field, not only for the study of the functional correlation of kinship terms and social customs, but one in which there is some possibility that the historical development of these features may be traced.

The significant features of the kinship picture are the following:

601 In ego's generation parallel cousins are classified with siblings. The terms for cross-cousins are highly diagnostic. The children of mother's brother (to both a male and a female) are *wiko* (= mother's brother) and *füñke* (= referential term for mother, mother's sister, in the latter case usually with the qualifying suffix *-domo*, "woman" or *-ulu*, "almost, close to,"). This "uncleship" descends in the male line to the generation below ego and beyond, and the sisters of *wiko* are always *füñke*. The children of a *füñke*, on the other hand, are siblings to ego regardless of biological generation.

On the paternal side in ego's generation the children of father's sister (*ñaña*, a reciprocal term) are classified with a man's sisters' children (*ñañam*; no sexual differentiation). To a woman, on the other hand, father's sister's children are classified with own or sister's children (*koñi*). The children of father's sister's children are grandchildren.

Wife's brother's daughter marriage and sororate marriage are reflected by the fact that a reciprocal term *kuñe* is used between a man and his wife's brother's daughter, which is also the term used by a man for wife's sister and by a woman for sister's husband. My informant stated that to use this term meant "I am liable to be on your neck" or "enter your arms" at any time. In short, it applies to a potential mateship which correlates with customary practices. The brother of a woman called *kuñe* by a man is *lëmpu*, so this term applies to wife's brother, wife's brother's son, wife's brother's son's son. It is also the term for man's sister's husband and his *father's sister's husband*, which points to the same functional equivalence of sister and father's sister as does the use of *kuñe* for a woman and her brother's daughter. According to Lesser, the functional, if not terminological, identification of a woman, her father's sister and her brother's daughter, is the key to the Omaha type of kinship structure.

A. Irving Hallowell

University of Pennsylvania

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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AGE AND QUALITIES OF PARTNERS

582 Generally a man is older by several years than the woman he marries. In only 7 percent of the 116 families recorded in the census taken in Alepúe in 1940 (Censo de Alepúe de Noviembre de 1940) was the wife older than her husband. The second and subsequent wives were usually much younger than the man. The youngest of three wives of a Coñaripe man—the man was 80 years old in 1947—was 40 years younger than he when he married her. He had three children in 1947 younger than 10 years of age.

Both men and women were considered of marriageable age when in the twenties; however, a man was often in his early thirties before he married. Ages of parents and their children taken at random from the 1940 census of Alepúe follow: Husband, 46; wife, 36; children, 17, 15, 14, 13, 8, 7, 5. Husband, 38; wife, 35; child, 2. Husband, 41; wife, 38; children, 18, 15, 14 and 14 (twins), 12, 9, 4, 2. Husband, 53; wife, 55; children, 20, 18, 16, 14, 12, 10, 8.

A desirable wife is one who can do the work expected of a woman, namely, care for children, plant a garden, prepare and cook all foods; and she should know all things regarding the preparation and use of wool, such as washing it, spinning and weaving it into chamall, choapino, blankets, and other useful articles. A man is ready for marriage when he knows how to cultivate the soil, raise cattle and sheep, and has acquired both land and animals. Formerly, a man had also to be able to fight in war before he was allowed to marry. When the father thought that his son was ready for marriage, he suggested to him that he marry. Occasionally a man decided for himself that he was ready. "Today no one asks about any qualities any more," said a 70-year-old man. "As long as they are married—that is all that counts!"

601 From the day of marriage the man is spoken of as kure ŋen wentru, or kuri ŋelu, or kure ŋechi wentru (married man, or man having a spouse), or merely wentru (man); the woman, as fẽt'an ŋelu (a married one), or fẽt'a ŋechi (married woman), or merely domo (woman).

A man after the birth of his first child, and any old man, is called fũcha (old man); a woman, after her first delivery, and any old woman, is called kuʃe (old woman). Such men and such women may also be spoken of as tremke che (the eldest ones). There is no change of appellation when a man becomes a grandfather, or a woman, a grandmother.

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618 868 animals. I want to help you; but you must speak our language.' Since the boy grew up in the cacique's family, he spoke perfect Araucanian. Later he found out who his own parents were, but he never went back to his family." The informant then told of Araucanians who were taken captive by Argentines and reared by them: "They learned perfect Spanish. My husband's two sisters were kidnaped by Whites when very small, and taken to Buenos Aires where they still live. They, too, do not want to return here to their people."

Another method by which the Araucanians learned Spanish was told by a woman who had heard old men tell about it: "When the Argentines came here and took over our land not one of our people knew enough Spanish words to talk with them. So they taught our people to speak Spanish. The commander of the army made our people stand in a row. Then he ordered one person after the other, down the row, to repeat Spanish words and sentences after him." She indicated individuals standing in a row and pointing a finger at each one successively said: 'You, you, say Buenos Dias!' 'You, next one, say Buenos tardes.' 'You, next one, say Buenos noches, my commander!' Our people could not pronounce the words as he did, although they tried hard enough. So the commander made them repeat and repeat and repeat the words. And that is how our people learned Spanish. Our people did not mind too much having to learn the Spanish language, but they resented it when they were made to march before the officers and speak Spanish words. The women were obliged to wear their chamall (homewoven clothes) and silver ornaments and their ojotas (footwear). Our people have disliked the Whites ever since for this." She halted a moment and added, "But they say they came to civilize us. In due time Araucanian men were drafted into Argentine military service where they learned to speak Spanish well. Upon their return home they taught it to others, especially to their children."

195 601 Informants were not aware of differences in their language as spoken by women and as spoken by men—something a non-Araucanian who had lived among Araucanians for many years was certain existed—unless variations such as the following were meant: A man addresses his father as chau; his mother as fiuke; his brother and sister each as piñe; a woman does not use these words when addressing the same persons. A man speaks of his son as ʃot'om, and his daughter as fiawe; a woman speaks of both as pоñeñ.

212 172 The Araucanians had no written language. Pictographs found in many places formerly occupied by Araucanians are not Araucanian, it appears. Saiko, who had studied the pictographs in many places,

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suits, and so forth, can operate in large measure independently of other households on the reservation. Unmarried sons come under the jurisdiction of their father in all economic activities. While the daughters and the mother are ultimately under the authority of the father as well, the mother enjoys a good deal of independence in the management of the household, the gardens, the barnyard animals, fruit trees, and the like. Indeed, a woman is expected to manage the household smoothly without the husband needing to concern himself with details. And in the domestic sphere the daughters are immediately responsible to their mother.

Sex and age largely determine the allocation of agricultural and domestic responsibilities within the family group. There is cooperation among the members in many matters, and the chores performed by one person complement those of others. The family is a tightly integrated group, especially during the years when children are below the nubile age and parental authority is strongest. As the children grow older, divisive factors might arise within the family, traceable to scarce land and general economic impoverishment and the fear of many parents that their sons and daughters will neglect them in their old age.

The family is integrated in terms of superordination and subordination, with lines of authority running from the father or household head to the other members. When the children are very young, much of the parental authority is shunted through the mother, the father occupying an essentially executive position. The mother is in direct and sustained contact with the children, and her daughters continue to remain under her control until they marry.

Relative age among siblings is important in their relationships and reflects the pattern of superordination and subordination which characterizes the relationship between the father and the other family members. Relative age is given expression in kinship terminology within any classificatory group.

If there is an appreciable difference in age between the oldest son and his brothers, he is usually delegated considerable authority and responsibility by the father. If, as is sometimes the case, there is a gap of ten or more years between brothers, and the elder remains in his father's house, the companionability and unity of interest which tend otherwise to characterize the sibling group are much altered, especially if the father is not in full vigor. The senior brother then may be the work organizer and decision maker, and he will stand to

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inherit the father's animals and holdings, which he may dispose of according to his own judgment. A female who is much older than the rest of her sisters takes over most of the mother's duties and tends to oversee domestic activities. She might be referred to as *ñaña*, a term suggesting this special status in the family.

Within the family the central figure is the father, and after his death his authoritarian role as organizer of family activities can only be approximated by either his widow or his eldest son, the two usually sharing a position of family authority. The way this is worked out in any family depends for the most part on the age and capabilities of the widow with respect to her children. Her sons and daughters tend to treat her deferentially, and if she is active and industrious she may assume much of her husband's role as organizer of family activities, although she will deliberate with her grown children in a way not characteristic of the father. Widows tend to gain more persuasive powers than men as they become older. Unlike aging men, they do not actually cede powers to their maturing sons and daughters. The widow's position changes considerably when her daughters marry and leave the reservation. She again performs most of the household duties, even if there is a younger daughter still in residence, and this involves ordering her sons' activities to a large extent. The mother's authority, however, rests on the tender relationship between herself and her children, and part of her mechanism of control is continual complaint—disapproval about how things are being managed by her sons and daughters. Her wishes are most often complied with, even though the children realize she is exploiting the relationship to gain the upper hand in the household. They sometimes rationalize this as her "old-fashioned ways."

Certain functions traditionally performed by the family are in the process of being taken over by other institutions, such as schools, and these changes are related intimately to the changing economic structure with its cash-credit operations favoring more productive agricultural activities. The Mapuche is in competition with other Mapuche and with Chilean society. Education of the younger generation has deprived the parental group of a measure of its former authority. Respect for parental judgment is diminishing in certain spheres, and it is not uncommon to hear complaints that parents are "behind the times." Once respect is lost, the father either tends to listen to the views of his son by renewing and maintaining the association, or else such pressure is exerted upon the son that he leaves the parental

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always remarkable that comparatively ignorant old men, who were often bewildered in situations of rapid change and decision making, expressed themselves with resounding dignity. 594

Father and sons continue to form the core of the elementary family and the nucleus of a new branch of the patrilineage. The father and older sons, who may be delegated authority by him, are policy makers for the familial group. The old man is the mediator between his family and the larger social group as well as the Chilean world — although this is changing somewhat, depending on the relative education and abilities of father and sons — and the one who sets the tone of both intrafamilial relationships and those of the family with society at large. [613]

The relationship between father and daughter is qualitatively different from that between father and son. It is one of super- and subordination, but it lacks the working partnership that is present in the father-and-son relationship.

Sibling Relationships

In most Mapuche households there are usually several sons and daughters. Since girls marry off the reservation and young men are tending more and more to emigrate, there are also many households composed of a pair of aging spouses and only one or two of their offspring. But in the time of family vigor, households contain several children each. [592] [582] [167]

Since women bear children over a period of twenty years or so and there is a fairly high mortality rate, there are considerable age differences between siblings. Kinship terminology provides for distinctions based on relative age within the sibling group (in its widest sense), but these qualifications are rarely used in the context of day-to-day activities. Nor do Mapuche differentiate between full- and half-siblings in most instances, although for the purpose of inheritance the distinction may be made (especially for relationships through the mother). 593 [601] [595] [428]

From childhood, brothers are taught to cooperate and to gear their own demands and grievances to the family's good. The older is taught to guide the younger, and the younger to accept his brother's leadership. Younger brothers respect the superior knowledge and experience of their older brothers and emulate them, but at the same time older brothers acknowledge the rights of the younger to express themselves, to strive to demonstrate their abilities, and to maintain

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other members and, on behalf of the other members, with respect to the community at large. 596

In extended-family arrangements brothers need to be cooperative among themselves and submissive to their father's authority. In the absence of these conditions, the situation is conflict-ridden and the organization highly unstable. Sons often chafe under their father's control but must endure it if they have no land of their own, unless they are willing (and equipped) to give up reservation life.

Unless brothers' wives are close relatives, and sometimes when they are, they are often incompatible. An especially judicious mother-in-law may be able to hold this incompatibility to a minimum, but this requires continual effort on her part and is frequently no more than a delaying action. Young women are generally opposed to being either co-wives of a polygynist or sisters-in-law in the same household. They tend to enter such marriages with reservations and continually exert pressure on their husband to establish his own household. Where this is clearly impossible because of an extreme shortage of land or a recalcitrant paterfamilias, a young husband's position often becomes intolerable. Under these conditions the husband might desert his wife, who will then return to her own parent's house. 596 607 [595] [586]

When in-married women are real or classificatory sisters, the strain is not as great. Real sisters have long been conditioned to work together, and lineage sisters have at least a long-established relationship and mutual interests to fall back on. According to informants, a significant characteristic which symbolizes the greater harmony between in-married women who are closely related is their willingness to care for and even suckle each other's children. The fact that a woman calls her own child by a very special term, *moyolpuñen* (*moyo*, breast; *puñen*, child) seems to heighten the sense of unity among these in-married women. The other side of this is that women in extended-family households (and even more so among co-wives in a polygynous household) frequently complain that they often have to care for the other women's children if they are occupied elsewhere. [601] [595]

When the women are real or classificatory sisters and are also members of their mother-in-law's lineage, as would be the case if marriage had been contracted matrilaterally, there is less friction on the intergenerational level. This is especially noticeable in the mother–daughter-in-law relationship. Since they are kinswomen, even though not necessarily in a close degree of relationship, there is already a set of 596 606

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labor among co-wives, their relationship with each other's children, and many more matters that immediately come to mind. Historical records, therefore, are of little use in determining changes that might have taken place in the organization of these households since the reservation period. About all that is certain is that the incidence of polygyny has decreased almost to the point of extinction.

I have observed polygynous families living under two types of residence: single-household and *lofche*. In no instance did I encounter a relatively young polygynist. Usually the man was more than fifty years of age. None had more than three living wives, although several claimed to have had as many as five or six co-wives years before. Partly for this reason I have included as polygynists some men who were actually bigamists when I knew them. My main reason, however, is that polygynous arrangements are considered desirable in principle, attainment of polygynous status being barred by economic considerations. In any case, there are no cultural limits placed upon the number of wives a man may have at one time.

The primary wife in all instances was the first woman the polygynist had married, and was by far the oldest wife. Primary wives are called *inan θomo*, a classification based primarily on age. Secondary wives are classified together as *unan θomo*, on the basis of age in relation to the primary wife. This is as far as my data take me in this regard. Higher bride-price was paid for the primary wife than for the others, but since the younger wives were married when the social and economic milieu had undergone significant change in relation to the availability of land, and also because of prevalent attitudes of most women disdaining polygyny, I hesitate to interpret the payment of higher bride-price for a primary wife as an especially characteristic feature of polygynous marriage. Indeed, bride-price is customarily smaller in all cases of second marriage; and in (serial) monogamous situations a second wife has rights and duties comparable to the woman she replaced in the household.

Each wife in a polygynous unit has rights over a garden of her own and receives a predetermined share of the harvest from her husband's fields. I could learn of no distinctions made in this regard between the primary wife and her children and the secondary wives and theirs. This might well be because the polygynist spends an equal amount of time in the dwelling of each wife, where he is fed from the larder of that particular household.

In only two cases did I encounter co-wives who were still sexually

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595 active living with their husband under one roof. This arrangement is said to be an especially unsatisfactory one, resorted to only when the man is too poor to build an additional house for one of the women or when he is indifferent to the claims of his wives and, indeed, expects to be rid of the one who is most inconvenienced. It is interesting that nearly all the polygynists I met said that several of their former wives had left them rather than live under polygynous arrangements in one house. There was no loss of bride-price in any of [583] these instances, since the husband always retained his land. It is at this juncture, however, that indications of jealousies between co-wives are strong.

[601] Co-wives use the term *meθomo* (feces woman) with respect to each other, both as a referent and term of direct address. This symbolizes institutionalized imprecation. There need not be strong overtones of vilification involved, especially when the women are real or lineage sisters; indeed, *meθomo* is used most often when they are not so related or, if so related, the term is used jokingly.

Only two sets of co-wives were lineage sisters among all the women I spoke to in polygynous families. They were first and second wives [587] and the second had been married after the death of her first husband. This seems to indicate that co-wives in polygynous households tend to be drawn from unrelated lineages, that a man takes a socially less desirable woman as a second wife, and that polygyny establishes a more diffuse arrangement of wife-giving groups than monogamous marriage. In the cases of polygyny with which I am familiar, the sons of the polygynists had married matrilaterally but settled uxorilocally, due to scarce land on their own reservation.

Sexual jealousy among co-wives results when their husband shows favoritism to one of them. The sexual favorite is usually the latest wife, and this is expected by the other women. But if favoritism continues to be shown for more than a month or so the other wives rail against their husband and are hostile to the newcomer. Sickness and [754] death among co-wives is usually charged to sorcery, with one or all the other wives being suspect. There was not one of the polygynists (or men who had had multiple wives in the past) who had not had some experience with charges of sorcery among his wives. The best thing a man can do in this case is to remain neutral himself but hire a shaman to practice countermagic. If the ailing wife recovered and none of the other wives were affected by the shaman's machinations, a great measure of family harmony was restored. I cannot speak of

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this situation from firsthand knowledge, since in the polygynous households I knew there was usually such discrepancy between the youngest, most attractive woman and the other wives that favoritism toward the younger seemed not to disturb the others. The important thing in all situations of this sort seems to have been the ability of the polygynist to show equal attention to all wives in regard to the distribution of food, clothing, and other necessary and luxury goods. There quite possibly was an additional factor involved in the inheritance due to the sons of the older women, although my knowledge of this matter is too sketchy to permit generalization.

I was able to discover almost nothing about the status of the children of the several wives in polygynous households. If one wife dies in childbirth or while she is still suckling her infant, the other wives will take turns caring for the child, those lactating also giving it the breast. Apparently this is not done willingly, but at the command of the polygynist, who emphasizes the moral obligation the surviving wives owe to his heir.

A child soon comes to know its own mother. This results from the care she gives it and because she is the one who orders it about the household. As soon as the child is able to walk it begins performing small chores for its actual mother. If the polygynous family shares a common dwelling (as was the case in two situations I observed), the mother takes her children with her whenever she leaves the house. If her work outside the house, in the garden or fields, prevents her from taking an infant with her, another woman assumes the responsibility for its care — again a moral responsibility enforced by the husband. A child distinguishes between "own mother" (*ñuke*) and "other mother" (*kañuke*) in a polygynous household. Own mother may also be called *ñoño*, a special term of endearment.

One thing that struck me as significant is that few grown sons and daughters were in evidence, although there were always small children. I was told that the young women who had not married had left the reservation for employment in Chilean towns, and that most of the young men had done likewise. Some of the grown sons had married uxorilocally, for the usual reason that by doing so they obtained access to adequate land. In each household there was at least one adult son of the polygynist. Although these sons were of nubile age none had any plans for marriage while their father lived. They were usually but not always sons of the primary wife. It was asserted that none of the sons would inherit any of his father's wives through mar-

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582 613 [604] not borne out by genealogies as far back as these are remembered. Whatever the historical implications of this Mapuche notion, the notion itself is in no way descriptive of the contemporary marriage system.

Ordinary circumstances of marriage result in adult brothers and sisters living on different reservations, which is to say that under the rules of lineage exogamy and patrilocal residence women move away from their natal group after marriage and men do not. A woman retains her lineage affiliation, but her daily interests are geared to the activities of her husband's community. However, she continues to play an important part in marriage negotiations between the community into which she married and the community into which she was born.

[604] In a "cross-cousin" marriage system a young man's closest tie with the unit from which he obtains his wife is his mother, sister of his future father-in-law. From a girl's point of view, her father is the closest tie to the unit from which she will obtain a husband, father's sister being her potential mother-in-law. Unless one is particularly 601 aware of this relationship, the nature of ego charts tends to obscure it, since the mother's brother, for example, is not simultaneously described as mother's brother/father-in-law. Furthermore, the standard ego chart gives a strong impression, because of the marriage links which are shown, that only "real" relatives as distinguished from "classificatory" relatives are described. While it is always to be understood that these actors on the ego chart are to be viewed as symbols for categories of kin, "real" relatives are also always included in these categories – and accounts of kinship behavior with respect to "real" and classificatory relatives tend to become jumbled.[2]

582 Genealogies show that marriage between primary cross-cousins, children of actual siblings, seldom takes place. In the following section, I shall argue that this, too, is because of a feeling of "closeness." [584] A corollary of this is that, while "real" mother's brothers and father's sisters might be instrumental in helping arrange marriage, it is almost never the marriage of their own children to one another. Genealogies show that brother and sister almost never stand in a direct in-law [604] relationship with the offspring of either, as they would had their own children married one another.

[114] [2] I think there is this tendency in the arguments of Homans and Schneider (1955) which speculate about lines of *authority* and *sentiment*, despite occasional caveats that they deal with classificatory kin.

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582 lateral cross-cousin marriage" and, while using ego for specific genealogical reconstructions, employ the general term "matrilateral marriage." Even "matrilateral marriage" has its limitations, but it describes the ongoing system better than the other phrases. It is a more inclusive concept and does not have the misleading implications that "real" mother's brothers are primarily involved or that genealogical generation membership affects the structure of matrilateral marriage.

[124] I take my cue from the Mapuche themselves, who are often quite patient with regard to the anthropologist's painstaking efforts to collect kinship terminology for his ego chart, but often seem not to reason as ego should, and later contradict themselves concerning expectable correlations between kinship terminology and behavior. In

[601] their wide-range classificatory system, *ñuke* is a composite woman. *Ñuke* is all the females of a wife-giving group who are potentially available to a young man. This does not appear clearly in the ego chart, where ego calls his maternal grandmothers by other terms than *ñuke*.

Informants, thinking in concrete terms, give appropriate nomenclature for the very real actors appearing on the ego chart, who are actually married in the ways shown on the chart and stand to one another as husband and wife, grandfather and grandmother, children of so-and-so, and so forth. Should this sound implausible, let one ask himself, "What does ego's father call ego's maternal 'grandmothers'?" The answer is *ñuke*, if he has married matrilaterally. In short, all the men of ego's lineage call all the marriageable females of the lineage whence they take wives under the matrilateral system by the same term, *ñuke*. The ordinary kinship chart shows concrete relationships in a postmarriage framework for the most part, which do not reflect the group aspects involved in matrilateral marriage. The failure to recognize this results in interpretative difficulties.[7]

While tending to think in terms of past marriages and concrete relationships involved in and resulting from such unions, the Mapuche actually operate within a framework of group relationships

582 601 [7] Cf. Titiev, 1951:50, concerning terminological identification of women on one's own and parental generations. Also, Titiev mentions (1951:44) that "So ingrained is the notion that a *ñuke* is a potential spouse that the term may be used loosely [i.e. rather than just for actual mother's brother's daughter] for any one of a man's sweethearts or mistresses." I contend that this is appropriately rather than "loosely" used to denote marriageable females of wife-giving groups, once one perceives the system. The confusion comes from thinking in terms of actors on the kinship chart or, at most, individual family units already closely related through marriage.

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582 613 than developing a large and localized membership. Relationships between these fragments were quite tenuous and were not sustained.

[594] Under these circumstances it seems more appropriate to view marriage as an arrangement between extended-family households, rather than between corporate groups such as the localized lineages of today represent. The mobility of the population appears to have prevented intermarriages between two households from continuing over several generations, since groups shifted their locations and lost contact with one another.

582 Where the so-called "obligatory" cross-cousin marriage has been treated in the literature concerning the Mapuche, it seems often to have been regarded literally as marriage between the two individuals as represented on the ego chart (e.g. Titiev, 1951:48, 50, 79, 98, *et passim*). We have seen that this confined or highly restricted type of marriage does not occur with appreciable frequency today, nor is there any evidence that it was prevalent at any time since the inception of the reservation system. It might, however, have been the pattern in the troubled prereservation era, when local groups were small and shifting, and marriage was contracted between groups only as long as they remained in touch with one another. In this case, the probability seems greater that "real" mother's brothers' daughters and father's sisters' sons would have been involved more often than today. Even then, however, polygynous and extended-family arrangements would have served to complicate the overly schematic presentation found in the literature.

[595] Polygyny was an important factor of the prereservation era and operated to limit a young man's opportunities to obtain a wife. The disposition of women was in the hands of the parental generation, and insofar as secondary marriages involved a woman in the category of wife's brother's daughter, a young man's potential range of cross-cousin mates was restricted. To the extent that this is so, the situation correlates with a tendency to marry late, a pattern rationalized in [885] terms of military duties and the notion that full adult status was not acquired until a man reached the age of thirty or forty. It is also logically consonant with the practice of filial inheritance of wives. Diagram IV, 1, indicates this condition schematically, and should not be considered an attempt to portray ethnographic reality.

582 There is a tie-in between marriage practices and kinship terminology which is important in understanding the Mapuche system of patri-
●601 organization in the prereservation period. The strong patrilineal
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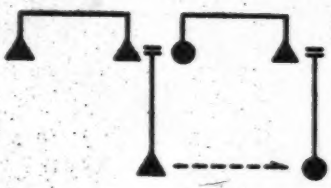

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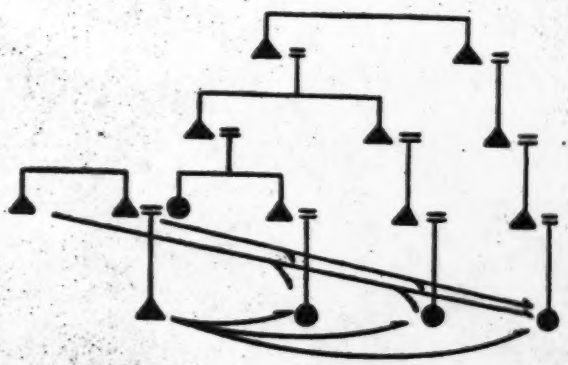

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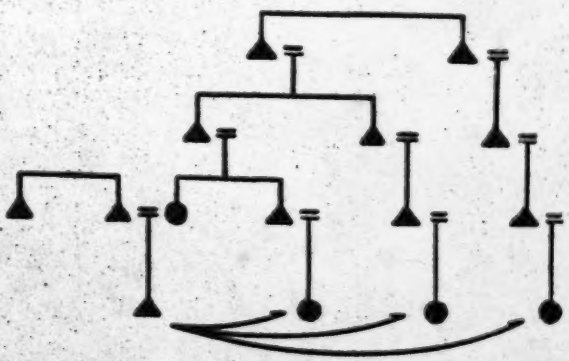

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DIAGRAM IV

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582 structuring manifest in lineage growth and localization in the im-
601 mediate postreservation period, and reflected in the development of
613 Omaha kinship terminology in at least one sector of Araucanía, was as yet only embryonic in the late prereservation era. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the system of kinship terminology there was a "breakthrough" from a generational to a nongenerational type only in reference to the category of mother's brother's daughter (Faron, 1956:442, diagram, and 1961).

Initially, the fact that mother's brother's daughter came to be called by the same term as patrilineally related females of her parental generation seems directly related to the marriage practices. Emphasis on lineal aspects of lumping together females of a wife-giving group appears to have developed only after the reservation system stabilized local descent groups. It is only after this localization and expansion of group membership developed that it might be said that kinship terminology primarily reflected the unity of the lineage group, rather than essentially symbolizing patterned cross-generational marriage. Not until the postreservation period is it realistic to speak of institutionalized wife-giving and wife-receiving groups.

Diagram IV, 2, represents a condition which I take to be a transitional phase between a pattern of widespread polygyny and late marriage, on the one hand, and that of declining polygyny and earlier marriage, on the other, which developed in conjunction with reservation living. Kingroups increased in membership and broadened at the base through the localization of segments and became fixed in relation to homologous groups on other reservations. Intermarriage between these groups became sustained over several generations.

[595] Various postreservation economic developments favored a decline
[578] in polygynous households. The availability of wives for young men increased, and some of the tensions between alternate generations engendered by competition for wives diminished. The factor of scarce land or, conversely, the limitations on mobility, imposed by the reservation system, seems to have been incompatible with the acquisition of multiple wives by males of the parental generation within the narrow confines of reservation life.

Diagram IV, 3, merely shows the structural changes which have come about with reference to one's mother's patrilineage, rather than with the full range of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. A man continues to find his best opportunities for marriage in a matrilateral framework. Matrilateral marriage has tended to perpetuate itself not

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as a result of cultural conservatism but for the functional reason of expediency.

In the structural relationships that began to emerge with the decline of polygyny we have an example of parental authority operating in the arrangement of interlineage marriage and a handing over of father rights to a son.[8] Whereas formerly, in the prereservation era, marriage contracts were between households, they later became interlineage arrangements under the authority of the chief or lineage head who controlled the land and gave or withheld permission to marry. Marriage wealth provided by the localized lineage was of course controlled by the parental sibling group who formerly competed with the young men for wives, and marriage arrangements depended on their solidarity. While younger men are among themselves potential competitors for wives, competition is minimized by differences in relative age, increased range of selection through the incorporation of a sufficient number of wife-giving groups, and the internal differentiation of the local descent group into sublineages which tend to receive women from groups most closely related to wives of the sublineage members. The modification in kinship terminology is consonant with changes in the social structure which affected the marriage patterns.

MARRIAGE WEALTH AND SCARCE LAND

To conclude this chapter I will elaborate an idea expressed earlier about land as a factor of utmost importance in the negotiation of marriage. The discussion will outline some general changes in the social and economic systems, engendered by reservation living, which are related to the marriage practices.

It was said that Mapuche tend to view marriage as a union sanctioned by family agreement and an equal exchange of wealth between

[8] This is the point made explicit by Gifford, cited and disputed by Leach, 1951:30. Leach writes that "Gifford does not appear to have recognized that such an arrangement would imply a special continuing relationship between the 'wife taking lineage' on the one hand and the 'wife giving lineage' on the other." It is my contention that in Mapucheland such a "special continuing relationship" did develop in postreservation times and that prereservation conditions were inconsistent with such development. The correctness of the interpretation depends of course on the reliability of the historical data as much as on the theoretical point of view. I do not feel that it is correct to think in terms of corporate lineages having existed in prereservation days or, by extension, to speak of a principle such as the "unity of the lineage" operating before sedentary reservation life permitted and even to some extent forced the growth of corporate, localized lineage groups.

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to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The emigrants do not marry within the matrilateral system. However, many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage until later in life, until parents die and make room for the establishment of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the late 1800's and early 1900's), an incongruent outcome since there are no longer bans on early marriage (cf. Titiev, 1951:75).

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and declining polygyny was related to scarce land. Intergenerational competition for wives under the restrictions of reservation life was a tension-ridden situation, no longer resolvable by segmentation and migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the son. In Gifford's opinion a situation of this sort might be reflected in a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the Mapuche are a case in point (Faron, 1956:451). Studies of essentially historyless societies seem to have cast undue doubt on the possibility of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby leaving the field open to analyses solely in terms of concepts of the "unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of which must of necessity be ex post facto concepts of too general a nature to be of use in concrete instances in which historical explanation and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained historically, and that the kinship terminology has tended to change in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage.

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the marriage wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning the details of kingroup participation, the impression they leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period,

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DIAGRAM I. Model of Maximal Lineage

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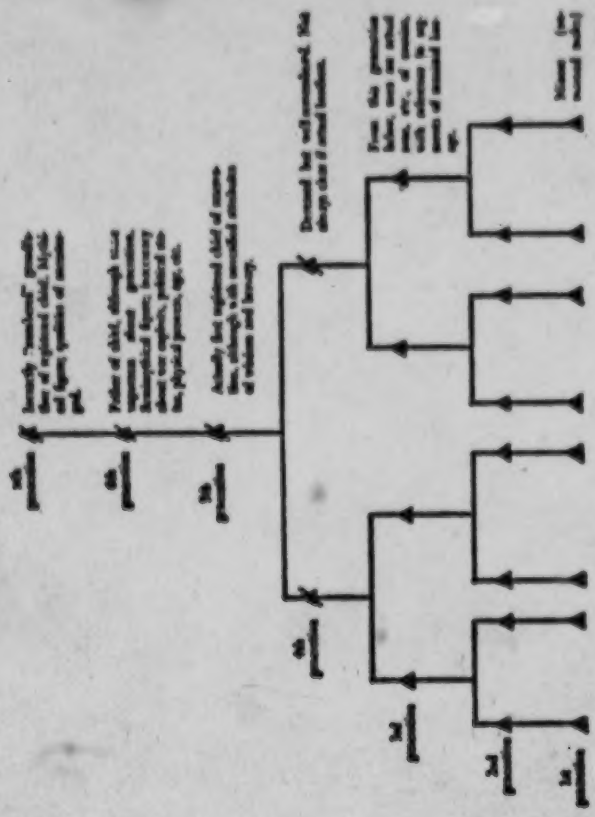

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Dominant lineages have increased in size (breadth) to a greater extent than most subordinate lineages, remaining dominant in terms of actual numerical membership and by virtue of lineal descendence from the original chief, the title holder of reservation land. This dominance seems contingent on the fact that they controlled land at the time of registration and because they were in a strong enough position to be able to validate this claim over successive generations. Members of the subordinate lineages were often forced to leave the reservation under pressure of the dominant group, which could lay claim to rights of inheritance from the original chief whenever any issue arose about clearing and using new land. Members of subordinate lineages are sometimes, in anger, called *winka* (outsider), there by sufferance of the founding chief, rather than as members of the legitimate descent group.

An important result of this relationship is that the structure and composition of subordinate lineages is generally different from that of dominant lineages on most reservations—at least on those reservations where problems of population pressure arose soon after registration. Graphically, the base of a subordinate lineage tends to be much narrower than that of the dominant one, since many of its members have moved off the reservation, while those of the dominant group, having a greater stake in the community and more easily validated rights to the acquisition of land through inheritance, have remained and reared their families there. These subordinate lineages, however, are very tightly integrated groups. They are small, and their members stand as a unit in opposition (no active hostility implied) to the several segments of the larger and more internally differentiated dominant lineage. Subordinate lineages, in terms of the relationships among their members, are highly comparable to smaller segments of the dominant lineage, to a discussion of which I now turn.

Sublineation

Diagram II, depicting a maximal lineage segmented into its sublineages, approximates "ethnographic reality" and differs importantly from Diagram I, which is a model of maximal lineage structure. Nevertheless, the same structural principles

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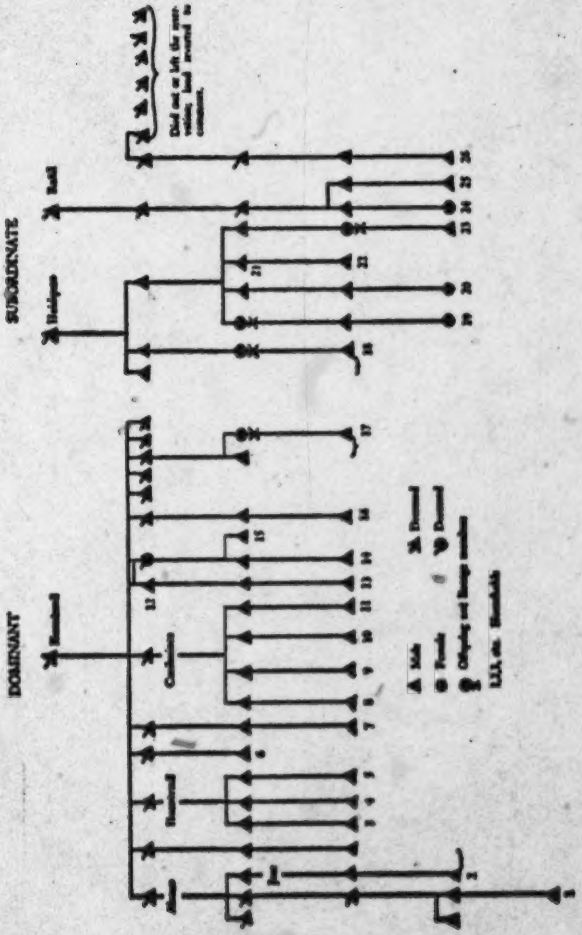
DIAGRAM II. Dominant and Subordinate Lineages



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learns. For the practical purpose of passing traditional knowledge from one adult generation to another, this situation provides instruction from father to son, occurring, however, when a third generation is introduced to traditional morality. As the third generation matures, the instruction is reinforced at the time the fourth generation is introduced to the traditional values through stories and myths. And so on.

The grandfather does not usually recount his own life experiences as object lessons in good living to the same extent that he repeats what he himself learned from his father and grandfather. It is likely that many of the fundamental do's and don't's of eighteenth-century vintage are still passed along in this way. This seems a recurrent phenomenon among contemporary Mapuche. It is intimately related to the propitiation of ancestral spirits, to the notion that a man begets offspring for his grandfather. This continuity is expressed in the reciprocal use of the *laku* term between alternate generations, in the *lakutun* (naming rite) in which grandfather bestows a name on grandson, and in the ritual association of the words *kume laku pu am*, which may be translated as "the beneficent spirits of my grandfathers." It is an outlook or world view which serves to compress time within the limits of the lineage framework and thus connect more closely the living with the dead. It is a notion which sees no violence done to history through the omission of pinpointing in time historic events, or even lumping together or presenting out of sequence the salient events of Mapucheana. Because of this a-historical view (in this instance) of the universe, there is the impression of timelessness and infinite sameness, an intellectual ambient which facilitates the compression of genealogies and their manipulation toward even more solidary structures.

Institutionalized relationships within the immediate family confines, the household or group of most closely related households, create and reinforce notions of moral obligation. The household is the meeting ground for the practical training of the young and for their instruction in religious morality. But the sanctions for this instruction come from without the confines of the household. They are mediated by the grandfather-figure and the host of *kume laku pu am*, and are truly cosmic in origin. At

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constitute incest. Marriage negotiations simply could not occur under such circumstances. Marriage, therefore, is not only regulated by lineal considerations of propriety but by lateral restrictions and preferences, the traditional expression of which (*admapu*) is matrilaterality.

The Mapuche rationale for the perpetuation of the matrilateral system is phrased partly in terms of sorcery. A man does not fear that his mother's closest kinsmen will practice witchcraft against him, at least not homicidal sorcery. All Mapuche distrust outsiders—nonrelatives who are not of the locality—as potential sorcerers. To break the matrilateral pattern, as is sometimes done, and marry into an unrelated and unknown group is to court danger. There is resistance on both sides, as well, since neither the kinsmen of the young man nor those of his intended bride approve of this kind of departure from the norm. A man, consequently, finds that the surest and easiest road to marriage lies over the bridge established by his mother or other in-married kinswomen to a traditionally-linked wife-giving lineage.

A man is in a number of ways beholden to the group which regularly supplies his lineage with wives. He must, for example, pay brideprice (*mafun*: to pay for a woman) in order to obtain his wife and to establish lineal rights over her and the children she produces. In this he complies with the demands of the wife-giving (wife-providing[2]) group, and is willing to do so because of the ease of obtaining a wife from them and the security involved in marrying a woman from a known group of cognatic kinsmen. The relative superiority of the wife-giving group is made clear in several ways, involving payments, during the period of marriage negotiations and nuptials, as well as on other occasions before and after marriage.

There is lifelong recognition of the relative social superiority and inferiority, respectively, of the group which provides wives

[2] When talking to the groom's agnates the term *mafun* is used; when discussing brideprice with the bride's agnates, the term *waltakun* is generally used. This usage reflects the relative position of the two categories, *waltakun* signifying "the provision or sale of a young woman." The customary designations wife "giver" and "receiver" do not fully express this relationship.

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554 and the one which must pay for them.[3] This is expressed in
602 kinship terminology. Men of the wife-giving group refer to
613 wife-receivers as "the one who has purchased" (*ñillan:* to
583 purchase; also, used as a kinship term which may be roughly
571 translated as brother-in-law). Those of the receiving group call
those whom they pay for wives *weku* (roughly, maternal uncle).
[60] These terms are used in a general classificatory manner which
serves to identify wife-receivers as *ñillan* and wife-givers as *weku*,
regardless of terminological modifications which occur for any
individual after marriage.

It is during the period when marriage is being negotiated and ritually solemnized that the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage is most emphatically symbolized. On balance, and with respect both to items of material and symbolic value, the wife-receiving group pays considerably more than the bride brings in dowry.[4] The brideprice payments and ceremonial acts of subservience indicate the traditional superiority of the wife-giving group.

684 A young man who has come to an understanding with a girl, and possibly with her parents, goes to seek out her father in the company of one or more of his elder kinsmen or sends them in
584 his stead to initiate the suit of marriage. Their proposal comes
613 under the scrutiny of several elders of the girl's lineage, her father's closest kinsmen-friends. The latter, strongly influenced by the girl's father, pass judgment on the marriage proposal and

[578] [3] I am not considering personal feelings here. In general, though, it may be said that the wife-receiving group is felt to harbor resentment against the wife-giving group. The suspected ill will of the receiving group causes wife-givers to charge them, sometimes openly, of not caring for the women they receive in marriage, of saying that their door is always open (which, in fact, it is not) to their married sisters who wish to return, and causes them to
[754] associate *ñillan* with sorcery, under certain adverse circumstances. In this latter notion is something of the idea that socially inferior persons of little means practice sorcery against their social superiors, who are usually wealthy men (*ülmen*).

[4] In speaking of brideprice and dowry the Mapuche refer most often to land and cattle. The word for dowry, however, is properly *fil*, and really signifies household goods, clothing, jewelry, weaving loom, etc., which, to my mind, indicates 1) that an equal exchange of animals is a post-reservation phenomenon which took rise after farm land acquired its present importance in Mapuche life, and 2) that some ostentatious exchange is necessary for cementing the marriage contract (see Faron 1961c:207).

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the present matrilateral system, but the change was not effected from one day to the next, nor even in a single decade, with respect to total Mapuche society.

The most significant way in which to consider marriage practices in relation to the total order of society is with respect to the groups regularly involved in sustained relationships. Of most importance here, for the structure of morality, is the fact that many of the groups tied most closely together in marriage also comprise segments of the same ritual congregation, and without doubt the present-day configuration has its basis in the nexus between matrilateral marriage and religious ritual.

The verbalized ideal marriage form in Mapuche society is that of a man with his mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin marriage). Actually, there are few instances in which a man marries a real mother's brother's daughter, but the expression of marriage in these terms may be taken to symbolize the propriety of marriage and the closeness of the units involved. What actually occurs, however, is that a man marries a woman who falls into the classificatory category of *ñuke*, a term used to designate all nubile females of wife-giving patrilineages of which a real mother's brother's daughter is but one. As I have written elsewhere (1962), there exists a structure of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving groups throughout Mapucheland, linked by matrilateral preference in a system which precludes the direct exchange of women. I would like to comment further on the relationship of such groups within the general framework of congregationalism and the moral order.

In effect, there is a chain of brother-sister ties linking together a seemingly infinite number of patrilineages, there being systemic limitations on the ramifications of this linkage only from an individual participant's point of view. As an extension of this brother-sister linkage, there are reciprocal sets of rights and obligations which precipitate out in the offspring. The latter forms the area of social relationships in which courtship and marriage and considerations of incest and exogamy are most important.

In Diagram IV schematic arrangement of intermarrying lineages (1–54) and multilineal ritual congregations (I–IV) indicates how marriage units fall with respect to ritual congrega-

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parties in which they appear as titular heads, doing little or no work themselves. The *lonko* who is also *ñillatufe* receives abundant quantities of food, not as payment for his services to the congregation (as is the case with the *machi*) nor as a gift, but, rather, as his due levy—with the understanding that this food will be distributed for ritual purposes.

Kona and *lonko* are related as junior and senior, but the junior-senior dichotomy is expressed in a number of other ways as well. The use of kinship terms expresses the superiority of the senior members of society (uncles, fathers, grandfathers) to whom respect is accorded by all others. The same kinship idiom is extended to groups of relatives in the marriage alliance system. Males of the wife-giving unit are called *weku* (maternal uncle), which is a respectful designation, whereas males of the wife-receiving group are called *ñillan* ("the one who has purchased"), at best a designation of inferior social status.

Titiev mentioned that there was a feeling of "latent hostility" with respect to *ñillan*, and that this person (emphasizing the individual) is considered as a "potential traitor" (1951:48). These facts might be interpreted to greater advantage as indicating that certain wife-receiving groups or segments of any large wife-receiving group are placed in a relatively suspect social position in which more than social inferiority is implied. These are the wife-receiving groups which have not maintained sustained marriage ties in the matrilateral system, or those just initiating such alliance, and which, because of that, might be suspected of actually practicing homicidal sorcery. It is members of such receiving groups who *must* put in an appearance at funeral ceremonies of the lineage who formerly provided them with wives, or else they bear the brunt of general suspicion and possible retaliation. It is their failure to meet former obligations of ritual participation which lays suspicion upon them, just as the fulfilment of such obligation has the opposite effect with respect to units which have maintained sustained and multiple intermarriages over several generations. In their obligation to bury in-married women in the same ground as lineal ancestors is symbolized a dualistic separation of the two descent groups and the commitment of the socially inferior group to sustain the responsibility and cost which burial entails.

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583 613 602 554 inferiority of the group who pays brideprice is symbolized in a number of ways (see Chapter One, pp. 41–45). Rather than being equal, there is a great, symbolically significant and obligatory imbalance in goods transferred at the occasion of marriage, consistent with the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving group.

582 613 602 It will be remembered that there is no direct exchange of women among the Mapuche lineages, the system being one of generalized exchange, strong preference accounting for the vast majority of marriages being contracted with matrilaterally linked groups. On the face of it, this is a triadic structure in which are involved one's own lineage, one's wife-giving lineage, and the wife-receiving group into which one's lineage sisters marry. This relationship is symbolized in the kinship terminology, [601] in which wife-receivers are designated as "brother-in-law" (*ñillan:* the one who has purchased) and wife-givers as "maternal uncle" (*weku*), as I have already indicated. One's own lineage consists of brothers, fathers, etc. The terms used for one's own lineage members are potentially extensible to all Mapuche who do not fall into a marriage-linked category which, being more than a sentimental attachment to fellow Mapuche, expresses the structural boundaries of the marriage system. But the necessarily triadic structure involved in this kind of exchange system reduces to dyadic component relationships with respect to any marriage-linked units, affinals always standing in either the *ñillan* or the *weku* category, as wife-receiver and wife-giver, with respect to each other.

582 [671] Now for the problem of why the Mapuche insist that marriage with mother's brother's daughter is the ideal union, one which they say was law (*admapu*) a generation or so ago. As I have indicated elsewhere, genealogies do not show that marriage with real mother's brother's daughter takes place with significant frequency; that it is in fact a rare occurrence (Faron 1961*a*, *c*; 1962). Since all marriageable women are called by the same term, *ñuke*, men marry, in the absence of exact genealogical knowledge, classificatory mother's brother's daughters in a generalized system of exchange. Therefore, the anthropologist's acceptance of this statement as literal truth is wrong. But what does the Mapuche expression of this ideal marriage form mean?